Marriage Italian Style *Stanley Kauffmann*

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Atlantic Defense

What Role Will France Play?

Alastair Buchan *Leo Muray*

Civil Rights, 1965 — *Alexander M. Bickel*

Russia at War — *Hans Koningsberger*

Social Security — *Merton C. Bernstein*

Facing China — *The Editors*

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

The Unknown LBJ

★ Who is Lyndon Baines Johnson? Nobody really knows. He was elected without telling us. We have seen him on TV and still we don't know. Now we are going to find out. That is what makes this one of those fascinating, irregularly recurring moments in history when a man takes over who could proceed in almost any direction.

The State of the Union message (which you will have heard when you read this) will tell something, but we guess that the hard and gritty details will come later, in the budget, and probably beyond that. Nothing so dramatic has happened since 1945. Truman, you remember, was tossed about by world affairs till September. Everybody liked him, pitied him, patronized him. "He's our man!" thought conservatives. Suddenly he sent Congress a 40-point comprehensive program for social reform that tore the roof off. From then on it was a no-quarter fight.

The question may sound preposterous, but does even LBJ really know what he is *himself;* not as a man, we mean, but as an operating President? All his political experience and predilection are for government by consensus. He was elected by consensus (which is why we don't know him). It is natural for him to want to preserve his immense, inchoate, inconsistent coalition as long as possible. He came in with Poverty in one hand and Prosperity in the other. Henry Ford III supported him, and so did Walter Reuther. Where does he stand; whom does he favor?

Hints coming from Austin, Texas, last week implied that this would be a consensus Administration; that Lyndon Johnson loved everybody. We could look forward, it seemed, to a li'l old era of good feeling. Well, it may be good politics to start that way. After all, why not mollify business and Congress by promising a moderate program, so long as you keep the option of defining "moderate"?

We have a profound feeling, however, that this government-by-consensus won't work; that is, at any rate, if LBJ wants to be an activist President. The AFL-CIO, for example, seeks a change in the Taft-Hartley Act to throw out union shop embargos in 20 states. The Democratic platform promised this. Astute labor spokesman Andrew Biemiller tells us, "this is the first time in 20 years that we have a clear working liberal majority in Congress." He counted 185 liberals in the last House; ups the number to 220-225 in this (House membership – 435). Will the business group join a "consensus" on this Taft-Hartley drive?

Or take Mr. Johnson's self-imposed budget ceiling of $100 billion, if he carries it through. Some have called this, the Great Society at a discount house. The ADA wants "no less than $110 to $115 billion," the spokesman said here last week. So does the AFL-CIO. Leon Keyserling's Conference on Economic Progress politely kisses off the War on Poverty as inadequate. The National Committee for an Effective Congress in effect says the same thing, warning Mr. Johnson to strike while the iron's hot. The non-political National Planning Association approaches it from the other end: Mr. Johnson's "current budget restraint," it warns in its annual business forecast, is apt to produce a "slowing of growth and associated rise in unemployment." It will be "hard," says NPA, "to keep the administrative budget below a 'magic' $100 billion." Even as things are now going, NPA warns, unemployment is likely to rise.

Somehow we can't imagine a managing President like LBJ keeping hands off the economy if the prospective slowdown of business really develops at mid-year as most forecasters now predict; no, not even if conservative elements complain of government interference, or cry "inflation!"

The liberal groups cited above (and others like them) are all being very polite and biding their time. They think LBJ is a shrewd man and that circumstances are on their side. There is another factor in this, which Professor Seymour Lipset notes in a perceptive analysis in *Harper's;* it would be a tragedy for the two-party system if Mr. Johnson really managed to run things by consensus. It would mean the Democrats would dominate the center in a great, foggy coalition leaving the Republicans trapped in their present far-right corner. It can be argued of the Republicans, serves 'em right, they got themselves into this mess! Just the same, it would be better to have Democrats moderately liberal and Republicans moderately conservative.

It may take six months to find out Mr. Johnson's direction for sure. He is extraordinarily secretive. Newspaper stories purporting to say what he will do, or what is in his mind, irritate him; may even cause him to shelve plans. No President since Woodrow Wilson has had so few formal press conferences; he has preferred to operate – so far, anyway – with quickie conferences or background briefings of selected reporters. This riles the non-invited. Here again we doubt if this phase will last long, as the going gets tougher.

Recruiting Brains

★ LBJ's ambiguity of position has one unfortunate aspect, it is producing a recruitment problem which some call a "crisis." An activist President desperately needs top-rank intellectuals. Money doesn't hire this type of brains; the bait is congeniality and stimulus. Kennedy dazzled them to Washington; now they are coming reluctantly to LBJ, who has a reputation for overworking subordinates, of patronizing them. Scores of eggheads worked on 15 recent task-force reports which were supposed to provide a quick-mix, ready-to-serve, Great Society agenda, to take the place of FDR-Truman-Kennedy programs, which are beginning to peter out. Most of the eminent panelists probably hoped their ideas would be discussed or debated, but so far, at any rate, they have vanished into the White House. Mr. Johnson rejected one of these, the Walter Heller plan for rebating federal taxes to states, on the ground that it had produced too much opposition by "over-exposure."

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CONTENTS

THE WEEK – Facing China, Kerr-Mills in Kentucky, The Case of Mr. Henning, Homosexuality Cont'd 3

Smokescreen – *James Ridgeway* 5
Peru – A Scenario Worthy of Zanuck – *R. M. Koster* 6
Going Along With the US – *Albert Axelbank* 7
What Future for Social Security – *Merton C. Bernstein* 9
Atlantic Defense
I – Keeping the Door Open for France – *Alastair Buchan* 11
II – De Gaulle Has Ideas of His Own – *Leo Muray* 14
What Has Been Done Is Prologue – *Alexander M. Bickel* 16

BOOKS – *Reviews by Eleanor Dienstag, Hans Koningsberger, Arthur Schlesinger Jr.* 19
FILMS *by Stanley Kauffmann* 25
ART *by Frank Getlein* 27
A COMMUNICATION 28

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Facing China

China tested an atomic bomb in October and this year she may be admitted to the United Nations. The US has been chiefly responsible for keeping China out of the UN but with each passing year has been seen more plainly to be fighting a rearguard action against the inevitable. The only real question is the timing and circumstances of China's entry. Now it is going to seem more of a triumph for China and a defeat for the US than it need have been, all because no serious attempt was made by the US to squeeze some virtue out of necessity, even while knowing that Peking was hatching its nuclear egg. Worried Washington officials belatedly wish that American public opinion were better prepared; most Americans, it is feared, are grievously confused about China – chiefly because they have not had a lead from those whose job should have been to give them one. They have been bombarded with propaganda, of course, but it seems to have been an almost total flop, for according to a survey conducted last year by the University of Michigan for the Council on Foreign Relations, one out of every four Americans who were asked about China did not know that it has a Communist government.

The ignorance is mutual and could prove more dangerous than China's new acquisition of an undeveloped and comparatively feeble atom bomb. China's aging Communist leaders as well as her 700-million people know as little about the US and the rest of the outside world as the average American knows about China. Khrushchev traveled widely and his successors in the Kremlin are reported to be eager to do so also, but Mao Tse-tung is even more of a stay-at-home than Stalin was. He sees many foreign visitors, but reportedly harangues them rather than listens to them. Recent witch-hunts and denunciations of "revisionists" suggest that some Chinese, like some Russians, have fresher ideas. Yet travelers seem agreed that in general the professional people who run China think so well of the human anthill they have created that they have only disdain for other "inferior" societies. This attitude long predated Communism – the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien Lung addressed a letter to George III in which he dismissed the King of England as a "South Sea barbarian"; but Communism seems to have revived and strengthened it. The US in its time has had just enough of a chosen-people complex that we ought not to find Chinese vanity wholly incomprehensible. Unfortunately Americans have been cut off for 15 years from China just as formerly we were cut off for 15 years from Soviet Russia, and

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with roughly similar results. China is the big bogey that Russia is only now gradually ceasing to be. According to the Michigan survey, though most Americans want to coexist with Communist China, they think China intends to attack the US. China becoming a nuclear power may strengthen this fear, and has already resulted in one US Polaris submarine (later there will be six) being stationed in far Western Pacific waters, its 16 missiles targeted on China, in addition to the ICBMs and the manned bombers of the Air Force and the Navy that have Chinese sites as their targets.

Yet the State Department knows, even if ordinary Americans have seldom been told, that the Chinese have not even flown over Formosa for reconnaissance purposes, their troops have not intervened in the fighting in Laos or Vietnam though Asian Communists using Chinese arms are engaged in both places, and they are not believed to crave other people's territory, for rice or for *lebensraum*. Furthermore, China, in spite of being a prospective target for US rockets coming from every direction, may dislike the Soviet Union as much or more at the present time than it dislikes the United States. The Chinese have never forgiven the Russians for withdrawing all technical help from them when they needed it most.

None of this means the Chinese will be easy for Americans to deal with if only Americans will try. A major stumbling-block exists in the UN itself, where China's seat is occupied by the Chiang Kai-shek regime on Formosa. This problem however is likely to be resolved by the UN majority rather than by the US, which may or may not manage to retain at least a tiny foothold for Formosa in the UN after China's entry. Whatever happens could make it difficult for the US to exchange diplomats with China, but need not hamper other exchanges, including trade. China's total foreign trade is now near $3 billions annually, and two-thirds of it is with non-Communist countries, including Australia and West Germany, neither of which recognizes Peking in a diplomatic sense. Many US businessmen would love to trade with China too, but the State Department won't let them.

The most important reason for resuming some degree of normal Sino-American relations is to prevent if possible the further spread of nuclear weapons, through agreements with both France and China. Neither country signed the test-ban treaty, but after the treaty was signed, in Moscow in 1963, the Chinese proposed a world conference on total nuclear disarmament. This was turned down as obvious propaganda. The Chinese went ahead with the making and testing of their own bomb. It seems high time to try to get on to some track that does not lead to stepped-up US nuclear targeting of China, and to demands by China's neighbors for a nuclear umbrella held over their heads by the US and, perhaps, Russia, as was proposed recently by the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Shastri. The Russians are very unlikely to share the burden of a nuclear umbrella with the US, without asking a very high price, and the US has no wish to act as the world's sole policeman. On the other hand, if nothing is done, both India and Japan may feel impelled to withdraw from the test-ban treaty (as they are entitled to) and set about becoming nuclear powers themselves. Far better than any of those courses would be a determined, new effort to reach some understanding, however limited to begin with, between the US and China. As China now trades with 125 countries and seems sure to get into the UN, it is difficult to see what the US would stand to lose by trying.

Kerr-Mills in Kentucky

Aged Kentuckians – on an average needier than the aged in other, wealthier states – are finding that Kerr-Mills isn't the answer to their medical problems, although the outlay on it for the fiscal year ending last June soared over the $2-million mark. The Kerr-Mills means test in Kentucky restricts medical aid to persons 65 or older who have a gross income of not more than $1,600 if single and not more than $2,400 if married. They are ineligible for medical assistance, however, if their liquid assets are more than $750 and $1,000, respectively, or if the applicant has life insurance with a cash value of more than $3,000, or if his interest in real estate (other than his home) exceeds $5,000.

In the past, those totally destitute received care, either through the charity of doctors and hospitals treating them without charge, or by aid from social service agencies. These are the totally, or nearly totally, destitute that Kerr-Mills also covers. Still uncovered are the thousands whose pensions bring them over the $1,600 Kerr-Mills maximum, but nonetheless are unable to pay for long-term, major illnesses. The aged person living on a $2,000-a-year pension will have a little trouble paying for one or several doctor's visits, or a day or two in the hospital, but when stricken by hardening of the arteries or heart disease, care becomes far more expensive than his meager means allows.

One geriatrics center official recalls a patient requiring full-time, long-term nursing care. Cost of the care was far beyond the retirement budget of the man and his wife, yet his pension was $1 a week over the Kerr-Mills maximum. The man ended up a charity patient, as though Kerr-Mills didn't exist.

A medical-care official alleged recently that there had been an "amazing" number of readmissions to hospitals, to get around the program's 10-day hospitalization limitation. In some cases, a patient was "dis-

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charged" after 10 days and then "readmitted," without ever having left the hospital bed.

The state, with its four-to-one matching money, pays for 10 days of hospitalization for each acute illness; 120 days of nursing-home care; unlimited convalescent care; 18 doctor's visits a year ($3 for an office call and $5 for a home call); certain dental services; and drug costs (for drugs on the state's list, at wholesale cost, plus $1.11 for the pharmacist's professional services).

The Case of Mr. Henning

Much as he prizes peace in the house, Lyndon Johnson knows from long experience that members of an official family do sometimes collide, and not always because they are bent on going in different directions. Last week, a collision in the Department of Labor became known, between Secretary Wirtz and his Under Secretary, John Henning, whom he wants replaced.

Mr. Henning came to the Department in 1962 on the recommendation of California Democrats. He was then Governor "Pat" Brown's Commissioner of Labor; before that he served for some years as a legislative representative in Sacramento for the Catholic Church. He is an agreeable trade unionist, well regarded by organized labor, which likes to have, and should have, someone in the Department hierarchy whom it can call its own and with whom it can deal easily. The trouble in this instance is that Secretary Wirtz is an exacting and an overworked man, and Mr. Henning in his judgment is just not good enough. The Under Secretary administers the Department; things are done promptly and well, or not, because of him. If Mr. Wirtz were less exacting or less independent – or if he were not called upon to do for the White House so many jobs that are outside the ordinary bureaucratic duties of a Secretary – the competence of the Under Secretary would matter less. But it is hard to see how Mr. Wirtz can be denied the right to have as his second in command someone on whom he feels he can rely.

The Secretary's hope that Mr. Henning might be replaced was communicated to the AFL-CIO's George Meany in an unnecessarily tactless manner. The news was dropped, casually, at a meeting at the White House to which Mr. Meany was invited so that he might express his opinion on the newly-selected Secretary of Commerce. Mr. Meany has a right to be annoyed. He and his colleagues are entitled to be consulted in advance and in private on matters of direct concern to labor; in this instance, that was not done. Nevertheless, no President and no member of the Cabinet can permit the labor movement to dictate an appointment. Mr. Johnson is bound, finally, to respect his Secretary's wish on a matter so fundamental.

Homosexuality, Cont'd

We reported (Dec. 12, 1964) on the case of the homosexual (we called him Defendant B) who received a 20-30 year sentence in a state court in North Carolina for committing an act of *fellatio* with a consenting adult, and who was ordered released by a federal judge, unless the state chose to retry him within 60 days. The federal judge had found a procedural irregularity in the first trial, which could be cured at a second one. The surprising, and happier, ending of this ghastly story can now be reported.

The state, we noted earlier, intended to retry Defendant B. And so it did, on December 15 and 16. There was eye-witness testimony of the *fellatio* from an arresting officer, who denied on cross examination allegations that he had previously advertised his intention to "get" Defendant B. On the advice of newly-appointed counsel, Arthur Goodman, Jr. of Charlotte, a member-elect of the North Carolina legislature, Defendant B took the stand, which he had not done at the first trial. He admitted that he customarily dressed in female clothes, and that so disguised, he made his living as a prostitute, but he denied having committed the particular act he was charged with, at the particular time with the particular other person. He testified further that he was neither a homosexual nor a prostitute by choice. As he saw it, he was a homosexual by nature, and a prostitute by force of circumstance, since it had been made impossible for him to earn a living in any other fashion in Charlotte.

Four members of the jury declared under questioning that they had read about the case in the public prints recently, but maintained that they felt able to approach it with an open mind. The judge – not the same judge who sat at the first trial – charged the jury that they were to assess the guilt or innocence of the defendant under the law as it stood, not the utility, wisdom or morality of the law itself. The jury deliberated for some three hours, and returned a verdict of not guilty.

Smokescreen

In the first major marketing change since the cigarette industry's advertising code took effect, American Tobacco Co. recently announced it will discontinue labelling tar and nicotine content of its Carlton and Montclair brands. "We printed tar and nicotine test results on Carlton and Montclair packages because some smokers desired such information," said Robert B. Walker, president of the company. "Now the dictates of the cigarette advertising code, as conceived by the administrator [Robert B. Meyner], as well as our com-

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pany policy to adhere to the code by letter and implication, make it necessary to eliminate the tar and nicotine data from Carlton and Montclair packages." While the wording of the code is notably confused in this regard, it apparently is up to the administrator to judge whether nicotine and tar content statements are "significant." In this case, Meyner has decided they are not.

An American Tobacco source is reported to have said last January that the tar in Carlton – "is less than half the lowest tar measurement published for any other brand," and from the smoker's standpoint, this is an important bit of information: the chances of getting cancer are lessened as the amount of tar is reduced. Dr. James Hundley, Assistant Surgeon General of the US Public Health Service, told the House Appropriations Committee last summer, "We are convinced you can make a safer cigarette, much safer. Some cigarettes have been developed that have about one tenth of the nicotine and tars of ordinary cigarettes."

In other words, Mr. Meyner's first action in administering the industry's policing code leads to denying the smoker information which may help him protect his health. It certainly seems to cut off the possibility of competitive claims by cigarette companies whose products have varying degrees of tar and nicotine. And it raises the immediate question of why neither the Justice Department nor the Federal Trade Commission, exercising their authority under existing antitrust laws, has moved to keep such competition open. The Justice Department will say only that it doesn't think violation of the antitrust laws is involved. A source at the Federal Trade Commission says that while the criticism outlined above might be a "valid point of view," the Commission could have no comment to make since it had been so deeply involved in the making of rules governing advertising and labelling of cigarettes. The Commission, which was quick to devise strict rules on cigarette advertising and labelling following the Surgeon General's report, was just as quick to withhold them on request of Oren Harris, chairman of the House Interstate Commerce Committee, who suggested that in such a grave matter Congress should be given the opportunity to legislate.

Mr. Harris' committee had held several days of hearings during which Dr. Luther Terry, Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, was asked what sort of remedial action he thought should be taken in light of the conclusions of the smoking report. Dr. Terry said he thought this matter might best be handled by the Food and Drug Administration, but was unsure of the exact form the legislation should take. Nor was anyone else at HEW quite sure how the law should read. They wanted to study the matter, and they're still at it. Meanwhile, Mr. Paul A. Porter of Arnold, Fortas & Porter – one of the lawyers representing the cigarette people – was in touch with the Justice Department about setting up a cigarette advertising code. He wanted to be sure the signatory companies wouldn't be prosecuted or sued under the antitrust laws. It is understood that a good deal of soul searching went on in the Justice Department, but in due course, on June 19, 1964, Mr. William H. Orrick, Jr., Assistant Attorney General for the antitrust division, wrote Porter noting that Congress and the FTC were both studying advertising standards dealing with public hazards involving cigarettes. Under such circumstances, he said, it would be inappropriate to give any permanent sanction to a permanent establishment of a private organization setting industry standards until the views of Congress and the FTC were made known. "In the meantime, however, we assure you that no criminal antitrust prosecution will be brought by us as a result of adherence to the code." (There still is the possibility of bringing a civil suit.)

Thus, both the FTC and the Justice Department have thrown themselves prone before Mr. Harris. ("What Lola wants, Lola gets," said an observer close to the affair.) One may suspect that these events have been gratifying to the tobacco industry and its adherents in the Congress. Mr. Harris' group will shortly hold more hearings. And they will surely hear the details of just how well an industry motivated for the public good can regulate itself. It may be that no regulation at all is necessary. Or perhaps Mr. Meyner's handiwork can stand some minor embellishments, in which case, Mr. Harris can stall the FTC a little longer and do a somewhat deeper study. Worst of all, the Administration may come in with a weak bill, requiring labelling on cigarette packages, but leaving advertising in Mr. Meyner's deft hands.

JAMES RIDGEWAY

Peru–A Scenario Worthy of Zanuck

Lima

"Operación Ayacucho," the third combined inter-American military exercise in the last three years and the largest ever, began at dawn on December 6. Peruvian armored units supported by Argentine Sabre Jets moved to halt an "aggressor" thrust toward Lima. Six countries took part: Argentina, Colombia, Paraguay, Peru, the United States and Venezuela. With impressive logistical coordination, land, sea and air units converged on the Chilca-Mala desert south of Lima from distant corners of the hemisphere, and the multinational force cooperated smoothly to crush a hypothetical guerrilla army. Argentine and Paraguayan infantry

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units assaulted a hill under cover of a Peruvian artillery and air barrage; Venezuelan and Peruvian marines landed from American LSTs and moved inland alongside an American mechanized company from the Canal Zone; Colombian and Peruvian paratroopers jumped in concert. Yet, upon examination, this inter-American strength and teamwork seem largely illusory.

"Ayacucho" and the other joint-combined exercises are – according to the Public Affairs Office, United States Southern Command – "an effective means of improving command and staff practices and operational planning procedures for all participating armed forces, and of acquiring experience in hemispheric defense cooperation"; but the maneuver seemed designed with another end in view. Despite live ammunition, real ships, tanks and planes, and plenty of bodies scrambling over the desert and dropping from the skies, it was the audience, not the command and staff, certainly not the participating soldiers, who were expected to benefit. The maneuver area was chosen and the scenario elaborated so that many kinds of military activity might be exhibited. Amphibious and airborne assaults were timed, not to the dictates of the supposed tactical situation, but to the convenience of the top brass, dignitaries, diplomats and newsmen solicitously shepherded from hill to hill.

It was open-air entertainment, brilliantly staged, epic in scope. Commandos fell "wounded" while their gallant comrades pressed the attack to the imaginary enemy. Dummy charges simulated "aggressor" retaliation. Jets boomed in to paste inoffensive hillsides. It was a first-rate production worthy of Zanuck. It had to be to justify arms appropriations squeezed from the budgets of underdeveloped countries for overstuffed officer corps and plush clubs, and also to justify massive doses of US military aid.

According to the "Ayacucho" scenario, subversive elements led by a charismatic politico called "El Gavilán" had won over peasants and received supplies and counsel from an "extra-continental" power; the guerrillas could put regular troops and light artillery into the field for an assault on Lima. It was scarcely an improbable situation. What was difficult to imagine was that hemisphere armed forces would cooperate should such a situation really occur.

The Bolivians did not show up at "Ayacucho." They were scheduled to participate, but then the government fell. Neither Peru nor the United States had recognized the new government of General Rene Barrientos, and while the Peruvian high command repeated their invitation, the Bolivian contingent was withheld. If political differences can interfere with the playing of a war game, they can be expected to make cooperation in a real fight impossible.

Is it reasonable, I wonder, for the generals to hope that their respective armed forces could cooperate against anti-government guerrillas in a particular country? Would, for example, Venezuela, governed by Romulo Betancourt's heir and still mindful of the unpleasantness of General Perez's military dictatorship, send troops to help crush a guerrilla force arrayed against the Paraguayan military dictator, General Alfredo Stroessner? Would Bolivians, who still resent the fact that Chile deprived them of their seacoast in the war of the Pacific, fight to preserve Chilean security, or would they welcome disorder in that country as a means to reclaim the ports of Arica and Antofagasta?

And even if cooperation could be achieved in a real fight not just a game, how effective would the Latin American armed forces be? The small contingents present at "Ayacucho" were all picked units. Could the maneuver be considered any index of combat readiness? Or was it, in fact, merely a publicity stunt to justify defense expenditures and provide a spurious sense of security?

Such questions came to mind as we drove back from the field of "Ayacucho," past Indian villages mired in the Stone Age and on through the swank suburb of San Isidro, where block after block of new mansions proclaim an opulence that would shame Darien or Shaker Heights.

R. M. KOSTER

MILITARY DEMANDS VS. MEMORIES OF HIROSHIMA

Going Along With the US

Tokyo

One of the topics sure to be discussed by President Johnson and Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato at their meeting in Washington scheduled for January 12 is Japan's relations with China in the light of China's new nuclear capability. Japan is one of the few countries in the world that probably could make an atomic bomb if it wanted to. India is another. But they both have what the Japanese call a "nuclear allergy." Japan

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is the only country in the world to have suffered an atomic attack, and India regards possession of atomic weapons as a violation of the Gandhian ethic. But a nuclear-armed China may yet alter opinion in both India and Japan.

"Japan, too, needs nuclear weapons!" This cry has been heard since China exploded an atom bomb in October. The call for Japanese nuclear arms is backed by an influential minority of right-wing members of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party and some military leaders, as well as by the always vocal ultra-nationalist groups. If public opinion were favorable, Japan probably has the technical capability to develop an atomic bomb in a very short time. But public opinion, feeding on dreadful memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki where more than 150,000 people were wiped out in seconds and many thousands died of radiation burns later, still strongly opposes even conventional rearmament and gets hysterical about atomic weapons.

People are still dying in Hiroshima and Nagasaki from the effects of the 1945 atom bombs. The Atomic Bomb Hospital at Hiroshima has just announced that 28 patients died of "radiation disease" in the first half of 1964. This August will mark the 20th anniversary of the atom bombings, and it will undoubtedly get much publicity.

After China's nuclear test, some Japanese predicted that Peking's influence in Asia would increase, particularly in Southeast Asia where Japan has vital economic interests. Former Premier Nobusuke Kishi, who is Mr. Sato's brother and the leader of an important right-wing faction of the ruling party, assailed the Peking regime as a threat to Japan as well as to Taiwan (with which Kishi developed close trade ties). The right-wing Japanese politicians favor an anti-Communist front in Asia to include Taiwan, South Korea and Japan. But the majority of Japanese have still to be convinced that China's nuclear armament imperils Japan's security. They do not regard either China or Russia as a present menace to Japan. A recent article in *Foreign Affairs* by George F. Kennan, which said that the US should not discourage Japan and China getting together, received wide publicity here and was generally lauded by newspapers and magazines as portraying the "true feelings" of the Japanese people.

Even top government officials, when questioned in the Diet, admit that China is not at present "militant" or "aggressive" toward Japan. The two countries have recently exchanged trade missions and journalists, though not diplomats. Nevertheless, there is talk that Japan will have to approve introduction of nuclear weapons on its soil if it wants the US to return to Japan the island of Okinawa, which is the site of the biggest American nuclear cache in Asia. And there are demands within the ruling party for increasing the size and raising the stature of the Japanese military forces. The Japanese military establishment is not saying much at present, but it may not remain silent for long. A letter circulated among politicians last summer, and signed "2nd Lieutenants of the GSDF" (Ground Self-Defense Forces), attacked the "peaceful mood" of the Japanese government, demanded the elevation of the Defense Agency to the status of a full ministry, and urged revision of the Japanese Constitution, which was adopted in 1947 and which renounced the right to wage war.

Some politicians familiar with the sinister part played by the military in prewar Japan felt the letter was cause for alarm.

The security treaty between Japan and the US comes up for renewal in 1970. Under the treaty, Japan is at least partially committed to supporting US policies in the Far East. And many Japanese people question whether the visits of American nuclear submarines to Japanese ports can be separated from America's policy toward China: they believe the visits are related to China's nuclear armament. Japanese military officers have been quoted in the newspapers as saying that the introduction of US nuclear submarines into Japan constitutes part of an American plan to cope with the Chinese nuclear threat to non-Communist Asia. They said the American submarines were calling at Japanese ports to elicit Japan's "full political cooperation" in America's defense strategy in the Western Pacific. The opposition parties, notably the socialists, are assailing the government about this. Apparently nobody accepts the official reason given for the submarines' visits – "rest and recreation of the crews."

As the regime of Prime Minister Sato is as pro-American as was that of his brother Kishi or of his immediate predecessor Ikeda, there are unlikely to be any major departures from past conformity with US official opinion. Japan continually seeks increased trade with all Communist states, but at the same time the Sato government and the Japanese Defense Agency are pushing a bill to raise the agency to ministry level, and seem confident of Diet approval, even though it may provoke widespread cries of dismay among the people.

Such a measure would give the military a bigger voice in the nation's affairs. The government also favors revision of the Constitution, a step which would hasten Japan's complete rearmament. Supporters of this and related measures now argue that China's possession of an atom bomb makes such steps necessary. And, should the chance occur, Japan's military forces would like to share in a mixed-manned nuclear naval force if one were sponsored in Asia by the United States.

ALBERT AXELBANK

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What Future for Social Security?

by Merton C. Bernstein

Hard and crucial decisions about Social Security confront us. At least *we* should confront *them.* Since its inception in 1935, Old Age, Survivors' and Disability Insurance has been financed wholly by payroll taxes, paid in equal parts by employer and employees. Unless augmented by funds drawn from general federal revenues – an innovation as unpalatable to many of its staunchest supporters as to its most carping critics – benefits will remain woefully inadequate to the needs of the elderly, who already comprise about 10 percent of our population. If this transformation is not accomplished, or is done only timidly, private pensions must provide substantial supplements to most of our future retirees – a task for which private pensions now are ill-fitted.

The great likelihood is that, unless basic improvements are made in *both* public and private systems, an appallingly large majority of the elderly will continue to drag out their last years in poverty. Enactment of the Medicare program will not solve the problem – indeed, it will crystallize and accelerate the predicament which is imposed by the limits that are inherent in the OASDI program as presently constructed. If the public desire improvements in coverage and benefits, they must learn more about both the public and private systems, and grapple with the dilemmas posed.

Although it is a program of social insurance, OASDI financing has been extremely conservative. Both employers and employees pay 3⅝ percent (increasing to 4⅝ percent in 1968) of taxable payroll – now set at the first $4,800 of each employee's annual earnings – just to pay the benefits now provided. (Any serious analysis yields the conclusion that company "contributions" are a form of employee compensation subtracted from what otherwise is available for wages, salaries and fringes.)

In the view of many, most notably Senator Ribicoff, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, the *rate* of tax is approaching the maximum that is feasible. Payroll tax increases required by the enactment of Medicare, and the small money benefit improvements of the bill passed by the Senate last fall, would bring the combined employee-employer rate to what is regarded as the limit – 10 percent; in addition, a boost of taxable payroll to $5,600 a year would be necessary. As the rate of tax is uniform for all, and as it is really inconceivable that low-paid workers can or should be taxed at any higher rate, how are we to finance further OASDI benefit improvements which are urgently, often desperately, needed?

Perhaps most of us do not realize how low benefits are, and how great the gap is between them and former wages. Indeed, the gulf between OASDI benefits and a subsistence level of income (roughly $3,000 for a couple and a sparse $1,800 for an individual) is abysmal. On the average, retired couples receive $125 a month, an annual total of $1,500. Single men each average about $84 a month, for an annual OASDI income of about $1,000. Widows' benefits average a wretched $810 a year. More than 70 percent of the aged beneficiaries receive less than $100 a month; indeed, 43 percent must struggle to get along on Social Security benefits of $70 a month or less. Little wonder, then, that more than 800,000 OASDI beneficiaries must seek Old Age Assistance (OAA), which requires a pauper's oath – the very thing the Social Security insurance program was supposed to avoid. Their number has been growing, and would already be larger if OAA benefits were available to OASDI beneficiaries between 61 and 65, and if state-set needs tests were not so stringent.

Even an individual whose average creditable earnings reach the maximum of $4,800 obtains a "primary benefit" which replaces *less* than 28 percent of his pre-retirement income. Where the husband has such wages, a couple achieves under 42 percent of his former income (because, in addition to the husband's benefit, a wife's benefit of another 50 percent of the primary benefit is payable if she is 62 or over). Had she been working, their combined benefit would be the same, and so would replace a smaller portion of their former income. For those with earnings in excess of the maximum creditable, the portion of income replaced is less; the higher the income, the smaller the replacement effectuated. For the great majority with under the maximum creditable earnings, the percentages of former income replaced by benefits are better, because the "primary benefit" formula (58.85 percent of average monthly earnings up to $110, and 21.4 percent of any excess up to $400) favors them. But obviously the actual cash benefits of practically all persons fall below the subsistence level.

Future retirees will be somewhat better off, because benefits are geared to average pre-retirement income,

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and so the higher earnings of recent years will be transformed into slightly higher benefits for them. Moreover, as the amount of such earnings creditable for OASDI benefit purposes was raised from $3,600 to $4,800 by the 1958 amendments, those with average annual wages or salaries above $3,600 thereafter will achieve higher benefit levels. However, there are offsetting factors, not the least being that unemployment reduces the average earnings upon which benefits are based, and those forced into retirement before age 65 will have permanently reduced benefits. Chronic unemployment afflicting hundreds of thousands in their 50's and early 60's will be reflected in lower benefits.

While the enactment of Medicare would help millions of the elderly to meet some of their frequently heavy medical expenses, it would require a total tax-rate increase of one percent, and a boost of taxable earnings to $5,200. Even if these payroll taxes would meet Medicare costs – and that is at least debatable – there soon would be intense, and I believe irresistible pressure to liberalize health benefits (so as to pay for items of heavy expense not covered by the Administration measure, such as physicians' fees and drugs for those not institutionalized), and to extend Medicare to the six million people under 65 who are eligible for OASDI but not for Medicare benefits under the 1964 proposal. Satisfying these demands would require another appreciable boost in taxable earnings. And we have not even taken into account the probable increased costs due to spiraling hospital and medical care charges, nor other costly non-medical liberalizations demanded by significant groups.

More Funds for Social Security

And so we revert to the question: where are we to get the funds to finance even modest Social Security money benefits, let alone the substantial amounts required to bring money and medical benefits into line with a standard of living of decency and independence? Quite clearly, higher payroll taxes are out of the question, for, with enactment of Medicare, the uniform, hence regressive tax, will go as high as low wage earners can bear. If we are to remain within the "principle" that OASDI payroll tax revenues must pay completely for benefits, future increases must come from raising the amount of wages and salaries that are taxable. How much of a boost would depend upon the benefit increase that is sought. An aggregate benefit boost of 50 percent – which in terms of need is modest – simply could not be paid for in this manner, even if there is *no* limit on the amount of earnings subject to this tax. If the limited hospitalization program of the 1964 bill that the Senate passed were enacted (with its benefits extended to retirees 62 and over, and to the disabled), money-benefit improvements of 14 percent would use up all of the funds available from a combined 10 percent payroll tax applied to *all* wages and salaries without upper limit.

The dilemma then becomes either to enact whatever modest improvements can be paid for by payroll taxes, or to modify the principle that such taxes can be the sole source of revenue for this program. Such a change cannot be made lightly, because the OASDI payroll-tax pattern has been a key factor in the relative ease with which repeated liberalizations of OASDI have been legislated since 1950. While there was opposition to just about every improvement, it was slight compared to the phalanxes that would have done battle were the financing derived from general revenues themselves, derived in the main from corporate taxes and the more or less progressive individual income tax. Then such improvements would have constituted just another "spending program," in competition for insufficient funds from a usually tight-fisted Congress.

Another alternative, chilling to the liberal heart, is to seek medical care for the aged outside the Social Security system. Such a separate program would be meaningless unless much of its funds came from general revenues, but *without* a means test. The United States has yet to adopt a social-welfare program paid for by general revenues which does not include the odious needs test. Furthermore, benefits under these programs have been anything but generous.

If the elderly are to participate in the Great Society, something has to give – specifically, the Social Security "principle" of beneficiaries paying the whole freight under a tax scheme that is doubly regressive (uniform rates applicable only to the low end of wages and salaries); or else we must turn, in part, to general revenues derived under moderately progressive rates, without attaching a needs test. Many European countries –notably Sweden and Britain – pay for the bulk of their social insurance from general tax sources.

There is real question that we are ready for such a move, although last fall the Senate, without a murmur, included some three million non-OASDI participants in the Medicare program, with their benefits to be paid from general revenues without a means test. But that provision would be temporary because, before long, practically all those turning 65 will qualify for OASDI.

It remains to be seen whether the staunchest advocates of OASDI improvements are willing to risk the future of the program by abandoning the conservative funding "principle" that has eased their task during the last decade and a half, and probably was crucial in the adoption of the disability program. (The argument that retirees "pay" for their benefits, and so cannot be deprived of them by Congress, has suffered a major rebuff in the Supreme Court; hence that reason

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for resistance seems unrealistic.) Perhaps those most devoted to Social Security will see that the program has little future, at least slight prospect of substantial improvement, unless they move to higher ideological ground. A society such as ours is disgraced by the plight of our elderly, and the resources of the entire nation should be mobilized to help provide a decent standard of living upon retirement. Indeed many European retirement programs, both private and public, provide benefit increases reflecting wage improvements occurring *after* retirement, on the theory that former workers helped build the economic system and are entitled to share equally in its progress. We subsidize less laudable activities, which supposedly redound to the general public interest, although quite exclusive groups are the direct beneficiaries of the public largesse.

Even with Democratic majorities of two-to-one in both houses of Congress, I wonder whether we are ready for the bold departures described. If an advance is not made quickly and decisively, another opportunity will be long in coming. If a basic and ambitious reconstruction of OASDI and proposed medical care for the aged programs are not accomplished, we had better become reconciled to the long-term limits of Social Security, and recognize the broad role that must be performed by private pension plans. Then we must turn to the urgent business of rendering them fit to assure broad and meaningful coverage and adequate benefits. As we most often do things by halves – at best – probably both courses must be pursued.

ATLANTIC DEFENSE

I–Keeping the Door Open for France

by Alastair Buchan

London

In this curious transitional world, it sometimes seems as if some providential onlooker at the human ant heap had only to observe a certain pattern of activity emerging in order to be subjected to an overwhelming temptation to kick it. This is particularly true of the affairs of the Western alliance. Every few years a conjunction of events creates the rationale of a new series of actions, but, by the time they have begun to reach fruition, the external environment and the requirement they were designed to meet have both altered radically.

The last such spasm was at the end of 1962 and the beginning of 1963, when in the space of a few weeks there occurred the ratification and extension of the special bilateral Anglo-American nuclear relationship at Nassau, Britain's exclusion from the European economic community, and the Franco-German treaty: events which seemed to point to the urgency of binding Germany to the American alliance through some new device, and hence led to American pressure for the solution of a multilateral force. It seemed to many people in Washington, Bonn, Paris, The Hague and to some in London, that at almost any cost the collapse of the "Grand Design" must not lead to a hostile Franco-German arrangement, even if the alternative were a "Little Entente" which excluded France, of which Britain was a reluctant member, and which effectively broke up the original membership of NATO. At the end of September, eighteen months of argument and negotiation had made it seem probable that by now the countries concerned would have reached sufficient agreement on the MLF to make it possible to embody the idea in treaty form.

This would have faced Britain, the doubting Thomas of the party, with little choice but acquiescence, and would have confronted France and the Soviet Union, the two hostile observers of what was afoot, with a *fait accompli*. But, in fact, four events of mid-October, three of them occurring within the space of 48 hours, so shook the kaleidoscope as to make barely recognizable the pattern of pressures of which policy must take account. Harold Wilson became Prime Minister of Britain, Khrushchev fell, China exploded her first

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nuclear device, and the first squadron of the French *force de frappe* became operational.

These seemingly unrelated events have, in fact, had a close bearing upon each other and upon Atlantic policy. The fall of Khrushchev, who had been due to visit Bonn in January, removed one of the artificial German incentives to hasty decision on the MLF. At the same time it presented President Johnson with new and untested partners in the great power dialogue, and made harder to sustain the assumption that Moscow would accept the MLF once it came into being, and yet still be interested in arms control. The return of a Labour government, committed to finding an alternative both to the MLF and to the British independent nuclear force, made it certain that Britain would no longer be prepared to negotiate on existing proposals. The opposition of President de Gaulle to the MLF, after realizing, on his return from Latin America, that it was now a serious plan, and the effect of his pressure on Bonn, further diminished the earlier German desire for speedy action. Brezhnev, Kosygin and de Gaulle (and to an important extent President Johnson himself, who by December had the opportunity to think through the light and shade in the MLF proposal as he had not done when he first gave it his endorsement last spring) between them offered Wilson breathing space.

At the same time, China's bomb and India's reaction to it had the effect of setting the MLF proposal within a framework of renewed concern about nuclear dissemination, as a universal problem and not merely in relation to Germany. It has thus become less invidious, in terms of German politics, to discuss the MLF as a possible source of dissemination. More than that: the fear that, if India is left alone in the world she may exercise the option she has technically acquired to become a nuclear power, has naturally caused governments to follow the train of thought expressed publicly by Mr. Shastri in London on December 4, and to think in terms of freezing the nuclear status quo by a nuclear guarantee to India, which in turn means acknowledgement, possibly of China but certainly France, as a serious party to great power deliberations.

Catwalk Across the Atlantic

This, combined with the fact that the *force de frappe* is now an operational reality, however tiny, and however unrealistic any idea of its use may be, may provide the material for a bridge – still only a catwalk – between Washington, Paris and London. Mr. Rusk's apparently cordial conversations at the Elysée on the coordination of American and French strategic planning were generally considered the most significant aspect of the recent NATO meeting.

The original proposal for a multilateral force, the fleet of 25 surface ships in which Germany and the United States were to be the principal partners, but unrelated to any other changes in the structure of NATO – the proposal evolved in the State Department in 1960-61 and put forward in 1963 first as an American suggestion then as a demand – is now certain to be modified. It will probably survive in some form, but as a subsidiary element in a much wider reorganization of Western institutions and responsibilities, which will be negotiated, not at a sitting or indeed by any one partner, but piecemeal and painfully over the next two or three years. And the nature of the eventual solution will be governed by wider than purely European-American considerations.

It was to the considerable discredit of the Conservative government in Britain that with a comfortable parliamentary majority, with a relatively united party, and after over a decade of first-hand experience in office, it did little more than snipe from the sidelines at an American proposal which it had disliked for years. It is to the considerable credit of Harold Wilson that with a fractional majority, with a strong neutralist element among his backbenchers, with a grim economic crisis on his hands, and after only a few weeks in office, he should have driven his colleagues and their staffs to produce at least the outline of an alternative to MLF.

This is not to say that the British proposal for an Allied Nuclear Force is either workable or salable as it stands. As outlined first in Washington on December 6 and then to the House of Commons on December 16, it would involve three elements. The first is the British bomber force (less certain elements retained for possible deployment in Asia), and the British Polaris submarines (which Wilson and his closest colleagues never had any intention of canceling). These would be committed integrally and indefinitely to an Allied Nuclear Command which (like the old MLF) would be "closely linked" to NATO but not part of its present cumbrous machinery.

The second element would be an equivalent number of American Polaris submarines. And the third would be a mixed-manned element, preferably composed of existing land-based weapons in Europe, rather than a new force of surface ships. Unlike the old MLF proposal, the Wilson proposal confronts the problem of control and predicates a permanent American veto, a British veto and vetoes for the other European participants, exercised either singly or by some internal arrangement on majority voting. It is the widened Atlantic Nuclear Authority rather than the narrower MLF Control Group which would be the center of multilateral planning and consultation.

There is a great deal of shrewdness in this proposal as well as a good deal of sense. From the British domestic standpoint, though it dispels the illusion of the

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extreme Left that a country can cease to be a nuclear power at the stroke of a pen, it almost fulfils Labour's pledge to relinquish an independent British nuclear force (the retention of some V-bombers for Asia being the result, it can be argued, of transitional and unforeseen circumstances). Certainly Wilson provided the Tories with accurate and devastating reasons, taken from their own official files, as to why British nuclear power is today not truly independent of America, while at the same time he has pointed out that the British force remains nationally manned and could revert to British control if NATO broke up.

More important, it offers an eventual line of retreat for post-de Gaulle France, without frustrating the legitimate German desire for greater influence in NATO policy. By eliminating the provision of the Nassau agreement for the withdrawal of British forces "in cases of supreme national emergency" he has eliminated the concept that there could be an emergency for Britain which was not one for Europe, which the Germans and others have found so objectionable. And, by his insistence on an American veto, by reducing the relative weight of the Germans in the new command, and by suggesting that it be accompanied by a nondissemination pledge by the nuclear powers and a nonacquisition pledge by the non-nuclear powers, he has made the prospect of a reorganized form of allied control over nuclear weapons, and German association with it, much less distasteful to the Russians.

But the Wilson proposal also has several weaknesses. From a domestic point of view he can be accused of surrendering the key element of British influence and sovereignty without obtaining any equivalent concession from the United States; but from the standpoint of the suspicious Germans, the retention of some British nuclear weapons for deployment in Asia sounds only too like an attempt to relinquish the appearance but retain the substance of an Anglo-American special relationship, based on joint action in the area where they alone of the Western powers have continuing responsibilities. Certainly there is nothing in Mr. Wilson's references to Britain's continuing role as a world power to endear him to other European statesmen whose countries have relinquished such a position, and whose healthy currency reserves, by comparison with the threadbare state of sterling, make them extremely skeptical as to how long Britain can sustain such a title. He would have been wiser to put the whole of the V-bomber force into NATO with provision for withdrawal in an Asian emergency. For General de Gaulle, Mr. Wilson's public insistence on a permanent American veto damns the ANF out of hand, though his successor, faced with rising costs on the one hand and a more accommodating United States on the other, may have reason to change his mind. Bonn, for the moment thankful that Wilson has decided to modify rather than oppose the concept of a multilateral force, will not readily give up the prospect of participating in the manning and control of weapons with strategic range, in return for a share in the multilateralized control of shorter-range, European-based aircraft and missiles that London has in mind.

Squaring the Circle

Whatever its weaknesses, the British proposal has served one of its central purposes, namely to give all concerned the opportunity to rethink their positions, rather than continuing in fierce support of or fierce opposition to a plan which is by now based on outdated assumptions. In fact, far from Britain being the victim of a preset German-American timetable for the ratification of the MLF treaty before the opening of the political campaigning season in Germany next summer, it may be the British who decide to set the pace. For Harold Wilson must almost certainly hold a general election in 1965, possibly in the spring, and will be anxious by then to be able to present his opponents, both in his own and in the Conservative party, with the outline of a solution that commands the widest possible support in Britain and in the alliance. Hence, the round of diplomatic calls which will take the British to Paris, Bonn, Rome, Moscow and back to Washington again within the next few months.

One would be justified in assuming, I think, that if the establishment of an ANF were their sole object, they would be likely to fail, for there are too many obstinate squares even for the skillful Mr. Wilson to convert into a circle. To convince Bonn he must talk of the close integration of the new forces; to convince Paris he must suggest the loosest possible structure of strategic coordination within the alliance; to enlist the enthusiasm of Rome he must hold open the eventual possibility of a European force; and to enlist the acquiescence of Moscow he must discount that possibility. At the very least some British participation in the multilateral element will, as Johnson suggested to him, be necessary if the idea of a British veto over it is to be acceptable to European governments.

But, as I suggested at the beginning, the change from MLF to ANF may mark only the beginning of a more profound shift in national positions and preoccupations. The mischievous aspect of the MLF was that it focused allied and Soviet attention on a series of increasingly hypothetical contingencies about nuclear war in Europe, and unreal arguments about fingers on buttons. If, for all its weaknesses, discussion of the ANF refocuses the argument on the real questions of nuclear dissemination and the steps which the nuclear powers collectively can take to prevent it, in

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the Asian as much as the European context, then not only could it lead to more responsible consideration of the overhaul of the Atlantic Alliance, but it might lead to the first realistic discussions of a more universal system, based on guarantees – independent of alliances – given by the nuclear to the significant or threatened non-nuclear powers. Certainly the end of the MLF will be the Soviet price of considering any form of Soviet-American guarantee to India.

President Johnson has for the time being passed the ball to Harold Wilson. But though Wilson may be a fast and skillful inside-left, Britain lacks the power, and, after years of havering, the authority, to do more than explore the possibilities of so momentous a change in the international system. In the last resort, it is the policy of the United States that matters and the central drama, as I see it, of the next few years will be set in Washington. For it involves nothing less than a profound American reappraisal of the changed institutions and habits of thought which will be necessary if the strongest power the world has ever seen, a great isolated continental power conditioned to equate its own security with those of others, is going to lead rather than dominate the large array of middle powers, in Asia as well as Europe, that are now within her orbit. The search for gimmicks, dumbbells and MLFs, leads merely to an artificial atmosphere of tension, and evades the central political problem of learning to adjust American interests to those of her partners. Other countries can help; Britain can show she accepts her new position as a middle power; but no one but Americans can undertake this reappraisal on the American behalf. And without it France will never become a wholehearted ally again. Without some central system of crisis management, some better approach to politico-military planning on an international basis, some American-European division of labor on advanced technology, some candid realignment of European and American perspectives on the interests of the various Western countries and in Africa and Asia, the attempt to develop anything so difficult as the joint control of nuclear strategy will prove either elusive or meaningless, and the opportunities of wider approaches to the Soviet on matters of common interest may be lost.

II—De Gaulle Has Ideas of His Own

by Leo Muray

Paris

At the meeting of the NATO Council here, Canada's Foreign Minister, Mr. Paul Martin, fought very hard and even aggressively to get a commitment into the final communique that any nuclear force would be under NATO. To most NATO members, the military and even the political and psychological advantages of having an Atlantic Nuclear Force do not outweigh the catastrophic disadvantages of splitting NATO.

France has made it clear that she will leave NATO in 1969, the first date she legally can, if a nuclear force is set up in conflict with her. Several officials have said privately that they fear that the new force would inevitably replace NATO itself by 1969.

General de Gaulle is out to gain complete tactical and political victory. His diplomats and newspapers are now saying that no coordination between any new nuclear force and the French *force de frappe* is possible unless the McNamara doctrine of a "flexible response" to a Soviet attack is abandoned in favor of General de Gaulle's "immediate massive retaliation using all nuclear and atomic devices conceivable." It is quite obvious that the General and his advisers regard this as the only acceptable proof of full North Atlantic solidarity with Europe in an emergency. Put dramatically, the 100-million dead on this side of the Iron Curtain – as well as on the far side – that Mr. McNamara mentioned to the Council as the casualties of the first day, are the pledge the General insists on as of now.

The meeting has served to focus the alternatives. A long process of negotiations may bring about the only solution so far seen: a "triangular" nuclear force made up of part of the US nuclear forces, the future French *force de frappe*, and a "scrambled" force of British, West Germans and possibly others, coordinated loosely on an equal footing, each keeping its control and strategy; or there may be the final split of NATO in 1969, with France withdrawing, but not alone, for by that time the political union of the Common Market countries would have progressed much too far for the

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other five of those countries to remain inside NATO.

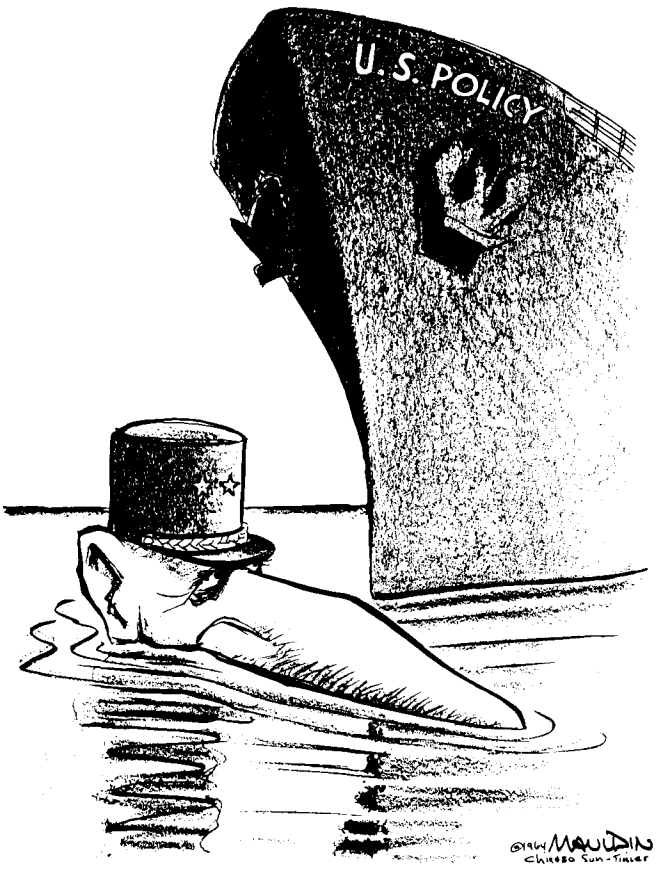
Discussion of the reorganization of NATO has come to such a pass that President de Gaulle's plan for the new French Army can no longer be loftily ignored. From now until January 1, 1971, the French government is to spend around $16.3 billion on the complete reorganization of the armed forces of the Fifth Republic. Although the French Parliament will discuss the details of the six-year program only this year, the program itself is retroactive. General de Gaulle himself has taken a hand in drafting it and in evolving the strategic and tactical theories behind it. These theories chiefly motivate his foreign policy. The program foresees not only re-equipment of the armed forces but also the building of a new, purely French system of infrastructure, depots, pipelines and communications, at vast expense. This indicates clearly that the General and his military advisers expect the enormous infrastructure system of NATO now existing and operating in France to be abandoned some time before 1971.

The General's basic assumption is that France will coordinate but not integrate her defense with her allies. This is called *action conjugée*. Another basic assumption is that there can be no major war that is not a nuclear one in Europe. Overseas military action with conventional arms is still possible. The forces of Gaullist France are therefore divided in three: a nuclear strike force; a large "force of maneuver" also equipped with nuclear weapons; a territorial defense force.

The nuclear strike force is to consist of 62 Mirage-IV warplanes each capable of delivering fissionable bombs of 60 kilotons. It is estimated that 10 such aircraft are already operational. The US government has supplied 12 C-135 tanker aircraft for refuelling in the air. The low-yield tests in the Sahara suggest that the bombs for the Mirage-IV are soon to go into mass production. The bomber squadrons are to be supported and then later replaced by at least 25 SSBS ballistic missiles with a range of about 2,000 miles, which would reach the Southern Sahara, the Urals and Syria. These missiles will be equipped with 250-kiloton warheads, both nuclear and atomic.

The program includes the building of three to five nuclear-powered submarines, possibly more than 3,500 tons, equipped with 16 Polaris-type missiles, each with a radius of 2,000 miles.

The "force of maneuver" is made up of five mechanized divisions and one mobile strike division. Of the five, three will be fully mechanized, equipped with 300 AMX-30 tanks and with at least 40 Alouette-IV helicopters each. The other two divisions will have 350 AMX-13 tanks each, but only a few liaison helicopters. The mobile-strike division, made up of paracommando and Foreign Legion units, is already operational. All units will have tactical nuclear and atomic weapon units added to them. Five combat groups with tactical



Reef

missiles of 50-mile range, and two combat groups with missiles of the 100-mile range, are being set up. An Air Transport Corps of at least 50 "Transall" transport aircraft and 110 Mirage-III will be added.

The territorial defense force, DOT, is made up of five armored regiments, 20 regiments of infantry and one mountain brigade. The infantry will be motorized.

The Minister of Defense, M. Messmer, told Parliament that the armed forces of all ranks and arms, including the gendarmerie, will not number more than 600,000 men by 1970. Selective service will replace conscription. By 1965 officers will number 23,500. Not more than five percent of the national income will be earmarked for defense.

The nuclear submarine striking force will not be operational before the early seventies, and it will take eight years to make all five divisions fully operational. The 25 SSBS missiles, housed in bomb-proof underground silos like the American Minutemen, are supposed to fill the gap along with the 62 Mirage-IV.

This is de Gaulle's *force de frappe* in outline. It is assumed by him and his advisers that France has six years to set it up, because there will be a pause in the cold war forced on Moscow and Peking by the circumstances of their dispute and, it is assumed, by the nuclear superiority of the US.

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What Has Been Done Is Prologue

Carrying Out the Civil Rights Act

by Alexander M. Bickel

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a half-year old on January 2. In December, it sustained with flying colors the first, and very likely the only, important constitutional attack to be mounted against it. The moment is right for an inquiry into the initial implementation and effect of the several titles of the act.

Title I, dealing with the right to vote, broke no new ground. The one proposal in the original bill that might have worked a change of some consequence in the nature of voting litigation was unfortunately dropped in the course of the bill's passage through the House. This was a proposal for the appointment of temporary federal registrars in areas of lowest Negro registration. As it is, Justice Department officials expect to gain most from a provision that specifically forbids local registrars to disqualify an applicant for making trivial errors in his application, which are in no way material to his fitness as a voter. It is, of course, widespread practice in some states to disqualify Negroes for failure, in effect, to dot their i's and cross their t's—*e.g.*, failure to state age not only in years and months but in number of days—and under this provision it will no longer be necessary to go through an elaborate process of proof that the practice is discriminatory. Otherwise, two cases arising under prior law, which are to be argued in the Supreme Court at the present term, are more important than anything in Title I of the 1964 Act. These cases test complex provisions of the Louisiana and Mississippi constitutions aimed at keeping down Negro registration, and when they are decided, as one may confidently expect, in favor of the government, they will remove the bottlenecks of voting litigation in those states.

An increased appropriation for the civil rights division of the Department of Justice, which the last Congress passed just before adjournment, is of greater significance in the drive to increase Southern Negro registration than any part of Title I of the Civil Rights Act. This appropriation will enable the civil rights division to double its staff of lawyers to 105 – no small expansion, to be sure. But it tells something of the gap between real and professed objectives to observe that the civil rights division is thus, for the first time, made larger than the internal security division of the Department of Justice, and that it is still only one-third as large as the anti-trust division, and about half the size of the criminal division. For the immediate future, at any rate, the bulk of the new resources will go into voting litigation, which has been, and will for a time remain, the chief enterprise of the civil rights division. The reason for this is, in part, that it will be a while before other titles of the act ripen to the stage of litigation, and, in part, that compliance with Title II, the public accommodations provision, has generally been rather better than expected. What might have been an immediate flood of lawsuits has thus not materialized.

The statistics of compliance are gathered by the Community Relations Service, an agency created by the act. A survey of 53 cities of over 50,000 population in the 19 states that have no public accommodations laws, which was conducted by the Service within weeks after enactment of the statute, showed that over two-thirds of the relevant facilities, including hotels, motels, restaurants, theaters, sports facilities and libraries, had been desegregated. There was some variation. The two-thirds figure applied to motels in only 46 cities, for example, and to sports facilities in only 48. And some of the desegregation had taken place before there was a statute to comply with. Nevertheless, what one Justice Department official calls major compliance – conspicuous places in substantial cities – was a fact shortly after Title II became law. On December 14, a unanimous Supreme Court declared the title constitutional in two cases involving a motel in Atlanta and a relatively small restaurant in Birmingham. The decisions came as no surprise to informed observers, but it is reasonable to assume that some compliance had been awaiting their outcome, and that additional compliance will now take place.

All is not rosy, of course. The Community Relations Service is conducting a survey of smaller towns and cities in the South, and it is doubtful that the statistics of compliance will be as high here as in the major cities. Nor can one be sure that all of the compliance in the major cities was genuine, rather than a mere show to be followed by all sorts of subterfuges. And several kinds of dubious "private clubs" are rising up in the Deep South. The Department of Justice has had some 600 complaints of discrimination under Title II, a figure that includes everything down to the most informal handwritten notes. Each complaint is automatically investigated by the FBI – which, according

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to civil rights lawyers in the field, is a mixed blessing, since the appearance of an FBI man, still identified in the minds of many Negroes with the local law-enforcement authorities, who in turn are the enemy, may scare off a Negro complainant and cause him to withdraw. But the number of complaints can scarcely be deemed large under the circumstances, especially since the public accommodations title was the best-publicized part of the act. The Justice Department has brought, or is in process of filing, four suits, one each in Greenwood and Clarksdale, Mississippi, and Selma and Tuscaloosa, Alabama – places where there has been no compliance. The NAACP has filed some twenty Title II lawsuits through Florida, Georgia and Alabama. The tentative judgment seems justified that Title II promises to be relatively self-enforcing, rather than a fertile source of litigation and a drain on the resources of either the Justice Department or private Negro litigants.

Titles III and IV give new authority to the Attorney General to bring suit to desegregate, respectively, public facilities owned or operated by states and municipalities, and public schools and colleges. Such suits, which have been numerous in the past ten years, have hitherto been carried on entirely at the expense and initiative of private parties. As to public facilities, however, compliance is even more widespread than with respect to accommodations covered by Title II, and no appreciable volume of litigation seems immediately in prospect. As to public schools and colleges, compliance is also substantially on the rise, with every Southern state, according to the Southern Education Reporting Service, showing sharp increases over last year in the number of Negroes attending schools with whites. Yet the process of desegregating Southern schools is notoriously far from complete. If, nevertheless, Title IV has not yet brought the Justice Department into school litigation, the reason is that private litigation in this area is a well-established and going concern. The NAACP has nearly 100 suits in one or another stage of adjudication. Bringing a school-desegregation suit is virtually a routine operation, and for the time being it looks to remain substantially a private one. Title IV also authorizes the Commissioner of Education to make available grants and technical assistance to desegregating school districts. Much effective work can be done under these provisions, but at the moment it seems to be largely in the planning stage.

Until recently, only a tiny handful of federal agencies, most of them leading a marginal existence at that, were concerned with the civil rights problems. Now suddenly, as one official has said, seeing to it that the government gets its feet straightened out has itself become a problem, and Mr. Johnson has assigned the Vice President-elect to this task, with a mandate to coordinate what are now or will soon be far-flung and sometimes overlapping federal activities. The proliferation of federal agencies concerned with civil rights stems chiefly from Title VI of the 1964 Act, which deals with non-discrimination in federally-assisted programs. Under this title, every federal agency which administers any grant-in-aid program must issue regulations to insure that there will be no discrimination, by way of exclusion or otherwise, in the activity receiving the federal assistance. The title thus engages virtually the entire federal establishment.

The day following signature of the act, the Department of Justice issued guidelines for the drafting of the necessary regulations, which must, in each instance, be approved by the President. On December 3, the President approved the first batch of such regulations issued by the Departments of Interior, Agriculture, Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, and the General Services Administration, the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and the National Science Foundation. These regulations take up 36 pages of the Federal Register, and more are to follow. The range of programs covered, from various educational activities through disaster relief, hospital construction, urban renewal and other housing, agricultural assistance, vocational training and many more, is great, and the regulations, certainly if taken in conjunction with a vigorous administration of the Equal Employment Opportunities Title, can cut deep into American life. The regulations apply prospectively only, to moneys disbursed henceforth. They require pledges of non-discrimination from recipients, and establish procedures for policing these pledges. Enforcement can ultimately be accomplished not merely through a relatively self-defeating cut-off of funds, but also by means of a judicial decree following suit by the Attorney General. And here the volume of litigation may eventually be great, for given the variety of programs, many questions of detail about applicability and about the nature of compliance will seem sufficiently doubtful to recipients of federal funds to warrant litigation, which they as well as the Attorney General can start. Besides, lawsuits that are no more

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than a form of resistance or a means of delay must also be expected.

Title VII, on Equal Employment Opportunity, marks the single important failure on the part of the Administration to move with dispatch in the implementation of the act. To be sure, the mandatory provisions of this title, prohibiting employment discrimination, do not come into effect until next July, one year after enactment of the statute. But the title sets up a five-man administrative commission, which not only needs to be staffed and ready to march on the day the mandatory portions of the statute come into effect, but which has a great deal of preparatory work to do before then, including the issuance of various regulations governing record-keeping and reporting by affected businesses, not to speak of laying the groundwork by efforts at education and inducement. This commission has not yet been organized. Difficulty in finding appropriate people for it may have been caused by a lack of imagination in conceiving and presenting the potentially great powers of the commission. It looks weak on paper, for enforcement is essentially by private suit or by suit by the Attorney General. But given good coordination with the Department of Justice, the commission can operate very nearly like a full-blown administrative agency, preparing and conducting its own cases under the formal authority, but not actual direction, of the Attorney General. The commission has the necessary power to start proceedings, for the statute provides that a charge of discrimination may be filed not only by private parties, but also by a member of the commission, where he has reasonable cause to believe that a violation has occurred. With vigorous administration, this self-starting provision can develop into the chief method of invoking the commission's jurisdiction. It is up to the President to assure prospective appointees to the commission that he conceives its functions in the grand manner, and that, under the coordination of the Vice President, the commission will not be relegated to the position of an inferior office subject to the authority of the Attorney General, but will, rather, carry the chief responsibility for implementing Title VII, with assured access to the more or less formal services of the Attorney General. Organization of the commission is in any event an urgent matter.

Two other agencies, one created by the 1964 Act and the other, so to speak, revived by it, which are concerned specifically and exclusively with civil rights, are the Community Relations Service and the Civil Rights Commission, and both are operational. The latter may be expected to continue and enlarge its extremely valuable work of building a library of the relevant and hard-to-come-by facts of education, employment, housing, and the like. For too much of what we think we know about race relations is drawn from statute books and reports of appellate cases, and too little from real life. The commission will also, after a long hiatus, again conduct public hearings, in February and March, in Mississippi, on voting and on the administration of justice, so called. But here too an appointment is sorely needed and has been long delayed.

Collins' New Job

The Community Relations Service is established by Title X of the act. On the day he signed the statute, President Johnson appointed as head of the Service former Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida. The Service is to provide assistance, upon request or on its own motion, "in resolving disputes, disagreements or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices . . . which impair the rights of persons . . . under the Constitution or laws of the United States or which affect . . . interstate commerce." In addition, it has a specific mandate to further compliance with Title II. Fortunately, Mr. Collins takes an imaginative and expansive view of his functions. He sees himself in a position to enter any community that has racial troubles and to try not only to solve the immediate problem, but to set afoot processes of consultation within the community with a view to producing long-range programs of amelioration. Not unnaturally, in view of his background, Mr. Collins is oriented more to the problem in the South, to the problem, it may be thought, in its most primitive stages, in communities, such as McComb, Miss., that are taking their first faltering steps, or have perhaps not even got to the point of a viable system of equal law and order for white and black. But he does intend to make the Service a presence in the North as well as in the South, and when demonstrations are renewed, as no doubt they will be, one may expect to hear a good bit of the Community Relations Service. However, the Service will have to become something more than it yet is in order to fulfill its promise. On an initial budget of $1,100,000, it has a staff of 51 people, about half of whom are professional employees. There are no regional offices, and none are contemplated at the moment. The plan is to use additional professional help on a part-time, per diem basis. A considerably grander establishment seems necessary.

One can say, then, that the bare bones of the Civil Rights Act have begun to acquire some flesh in the first six months of life, and one may add that since these six months covered two national conventions and a Presidential campaign, the Administration's performance in moving forward with implementation cannot be thought poor, nor can it be thought to give evidence of a lack of vigorous intention. Yet all that has been done is still prologue.

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The Self-Analysis of Doris Lessing

by Eleanor Dienstag

It is increasingly difficult to pick up a newspaper or periodical without being assaulted by serialized chapters of the female liberator of the moment, be she Betty Friedan or Helen Gurley Brown. One puts them down somewhat annoyed by their statistical tone (post-war, college-educated wives with 2.5 children . . .) or melodramatic case histories (Mary Y, mother of 4, wife of a wealthy executive, woke up one morning at the age of 39 and realized she was bored and useless . . .). The facts presented never quite add up to The Real Thing; the 20th Century female seems to defy the analytic techniques of nonfiction. Thus, whatever illumination is possible must emanate from the imaginative writer.

Children of Violence
by Doris Lessing
(Simon & Schuster; $7.50)

When Doris Lessing's monumental novel *The Golden Notebook* was published in this country in 1962, it became obvious that to the degree that others had failed, she had succeeded, giving us an often harrowing but always truthful picture of the realities of female independence. *Children of Violence*, a quintet of related novels, three of which were written and published in England before *The Golden Notebook*, and the first two of which – *Martha Quest* and *A Proper Marriage* – have been included in the initial volume of this American edition, confirms Mrs. Lessing's brilliance on the subject of the modern woman.

Whereas *The Golden Notebook* portrayed the crack-up of Anna Wulf, a fortyish divorcee with one child, a writer, ex-Communist and émigrée to London from an English colony in Africa, *Children of Violence* revolves around Martha Quest, whom we first meet when she is 15, bored, rebellious, her body a repository of bared adolescent nerves. Martha is a younger Anna, and both are facets of the author herself who, like her young heroine, was the daughter of a farmer in Southern Rhodesia, left school in her mid-teens, married, had a child, divorced, joined the Communist movement and, like Anna Wulf, emigrated to London after World War II, became a successful writer, broke off with Communism and, one suspects, went through a serious emotional upheaval afterwards.

Both novels, then, deal with similar themes and personalities. But while *The Golden Notebook* travels in a kind of vertical line, piling up the various identities of its central character – Anna the political creature, Anna the writer, Anna the mistress, Anna the mother – creating a novel of highly-distilled psychological depth, *Children of Violence* is a series of realistic novels which move in a conventional time sequence. This form best suits Mrs. Lessing's aim, which is nothing less than capturing a universal cycle of female behavior, from adolescence to middle age, of creating a portrait of the recurring stirrings, frustrations, struggles and joys of the modern woman. Martha's quest is not simply her own, though its setting in colonial Africa, and the author's ability to recreate the African landscape, gives it a highly particularized reality.

Martha is an extraordinary heroine because, like Madame Bovary, she is not a heroine at all. Instead of the clear-minded conventional rebel, the emancipated woman who knows what she wants and throws off her chains to get it, we find a passive female who yearns inwardly for a different life, free of racial, sexual and intellectual hypocrisies, but who outwardly is almost a complete conformist. Until the last pages of *A Proper Marriage*, her every move is externally controlled. Much to the reader's anguish, who watches the struggle between passivity and rebellion with a kind of knowing, horrified fascination, Martha marries a man she doesn't love, though she has told herself a thousand times she will pull out of the engagement at the last moment, and bears him a child nine months later, though she has declared such an eventuality impossible and undesirable. Despite her self-image as a *New Statesman* left-winger, she becomes the model wife of a colonial servant, with a mortgaged house and a large staff of native servants under her command.

Martha's duality is not exclusively the product of her intellectuality but, as Doris Lessing stresses, of an almost irreconcilable conflict between mind and body which is the universal conflict of modern women. "The voice of their female selves was a lure whose ambiguous and double-dealing nature they understood very well," she writes of Martha's circle of very ordinary friends, civil-servant wives, whose bodies often yearned for another pregnancy – that time of great contentment and fulfillment for women – when they were perfectly aware that "the business of looking after a child, as distinct from carrying or giving birth to one, was not a fulfillment but a drag on oneself." To resist one's biological cravings, then, is not necessarily achieved at the cost of one's femininity (a frequent misapprehension), for in that case only the women with dozens of children could be deemed feminine, a patent absurdity. For Martha, the question of a second child resolves itself into the question of finally committing herself to a marriage she inwardly disavows, or abandoning it.

Though Martha partakes of the eternal experiences of woman – courtship, marriage, childbearing (and it is a childbirth scene unequalled in contemporary literature), she is very much a child of her times. Born of one world war – the outstanding event in her parents' generation – entering adulthood during another, Martha, formed by literature instead of religion, makes love according to the latest marriage

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manuals, brings up her child according to The Book, refuses to accept the possibility of jealousy between husband and wife and, above all, espouses sexual freedom for both partners outside of marriage. Sections of *Children of Violence*, in fact, remind one of that generation of women Mary McCarthy tried to describe in *The Group* but only succeeded in caricaturizing.

If, as Ihab Hassan persuasively suggested in *Radical Innocence*, "In our age, the form of fiction . . . conforms, more than anything else, to the spirit and shape of irony," then *Children of Violence*, despite its traditional framework, which may initially disappoint readers of *The Golden Notebook*, is a totally modern work. Martha is, above all, ironically perceived by the author, in whose hands irony is an instrument of compassion rather than cynicism.

As *A Proper Marriage* closes, Martha commits herself to the Communist Party as fervently as she already has to romantic love. This suggests that Martha's political education has just begun and that the major issues of colonialism, racism and totalitarianism will be dealt with at greater length in succeeding volumes. If Mrs. Lessing can maintain the artistry and candor of *Martha Quest* and *A Proper Marriage*, *Children of Violence* may constitute one of the outstanding literary achievements of our age.

When the Russians Were Our Allies

by Hans Koningsberger

In the fall of the year 1941 I was still in school, in Holland. Every night before going to bed, I used to look up at the sky over blacked-out Amsterdam and whisper, "God save Moscow, God save Moscow." I didn't grow up in a religious household, but no prayer anywhere could have been said with more fervor. Winter, we thought, would save Moscow from the Germans; and each slow day that winter came nearer, was a triumph. I think it is the same kind of personal angle on the Russian war that makes Alexander Werth's work unique. His is the first war book I have come upon to combine a matter-of-fact, Churchillean, reporting in the best Anglo-Saxon tradition, with a conveying of the precise feel of those terrible and wild days – the rumors, the fears, the cold, the rain, the hunger, the despair, the elation, the smell of stone dust in the empty streets of a newly liberated town. And after a few chapters, it seems obvious that no other method but this two-level account could begin to do justice to the complexity of the drama of those four years; a drama, moreover, the West knows surprisingly little about and perhaps did not want to know too much about.

Russia at War 1941-1945
by Alexander Werth
(Dutton; $10)

After Werth, how little even Winston Churchill seems to have *really* felt the scope of the eastern fighting – where he complains, for instance, of Stalin's coolness on the receipt of a note about Turkey, at the precise time that the German Sixth Army collapsed at Stalingrad. How easily we still equate El Alamein (13,000 Allied casualties in the first twelve days) with Stalingrad (40,000 Russians killed in the air attacks of one day) – or, for that matter, Russian soldiers looting East Prussia (in 1945) with the German extermination program for the lesser breeds of the *Ostland!* This book, with the clear ring of authenticity and objectivity, can set the record straight on these and many other matters – if we want it to. For, of course, it is not always lack of facts that makes people biased, and the reviewer of Werth's book in *Life* presents as one of his main conclusions the surprising statement that, "had the Russians lost, the October skedaddle (a panic among the Moscow civilians on October 16, 1941) would have been more damning than anything written about 1940 France." If there was one place which Russia was not like, it was 1940 France.

It was in France that the invincibility of the German army became estab-

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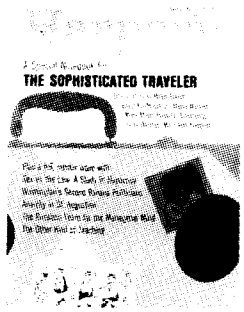

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lished as Gospel truth, and not the smallest seed of doubt about that was sown until the Russians, temporarily, recaptured Rostov in November 1941. How unbelievable it seemed to us in occupied Europe that the Germans had not only actually been stopped, anywhere, but even forced to retreat! (The German communique admitted it, but added that Rostov had been cleared in order to destroy the civilian population which had helped the Red Army.) The West abandoned Narvik, Paris, Crete, Singapore, in days; the Russians held on for months to each contested place. It was at this low ebb in Western morale that the suggestion was made in England to have Russian officers command the British troops stationed in North Africa.

The amazing performance of Soviet Russia, which most experts, including the American military attaché in Moscow, had given "a couple of weeks at most," is not only described by Werth but also largely explained, and explained in human terms. There was the first bafflement of being attacked (June 22, 1941) – for in spite of all the warnings, Russia, as little as the United States six months later, could not really believe *their* turn had come. There was chaos, but, Werth says, the first turning point was Stalin's radio address of July 3. After that, Stalin's place as a "Churchill figure" was never in doubt; he was then not the dictator, nor the party man, but the national leader in a war to save Holy Mother Russia. His speech on the Anniversary of the Revolution, the night of November 6, 1941, was delivered in a station of the Moscow subway; the following day, "a cold grey November morning," he addressed the troops in Red Square "with, in the distance, Russian and German guns booming." Again as in the US, the Russian mood turned from dejection to defiance to self-confidence. After the German offensive against Moscow was stopped on December 5 (and they had, at Istra, come within fifteen miles), the "Winter Fritzes" wrapped in their stolen civilian scarfs and boas, icicles hanging from their noses, could momentarily be seen as comic figures. But even very much later, when victory had become a certainty, that easy detachment toward the Germans which so many Americans and Englishmen sported, remained unthinkable in the Russian army. There is nothing surprising about that: in the first three years the Germans killed about eight million civilians and let three million out of five million POW's starve to death; and each square mile the Russians reconquered delivered up a thousand of their graves.

The mood of the home front (which in a place like Leningrad was just a shell's throw from the firing line) is described extensively and touchingly by Mr. Werth. He is the ideal man for the task: He was born in St. Petersburg at the beginning of the century and followed his Russian high school years with a Scottish university education; above all, he was *there*. He spent almost the entire war in Russia and visited all the battle fronts and all the liberated cities as a British war correspondent. He arrived in Kharkov three days after its liberation (and two weeks before the Germans recaptured it), and gives a harrowing description of the market "where they were still selling little glasses of millet and sunflower seed, and, at another stall, battered tubes of German toothpaste and lighters made of aluminum scrap . . . all the same there were still large crowds in the market, dismally eyeing this junk." Soldiers hung around there and recently freed Russian POW's; "I remember one of them particularly: He had a long face that was nothing but bone and dirty-white skin . . . his breath smelled of death. The rags he was wearing were the remains of a discarded Italian uniform. They had to go back to the camp every night. Nobody was taking care of them, and they had wandered about Kharkov, looking for food."

Then, as a fantastic contrast, Odessa, which Hitler had given to Rumania, and where the war years had passed in a half-light of corrupt governors and black marketing, "with many Jews bumped off," as a youth sitting on the Great Staircase (of Eisenstein's *Potemkin*) told Werth, "because the Germans said, 'No dead Jews, no Odessa'." Sebastopol: "From a distance, Sebastopol with the long and narrow bay beyond, looked like a live city, but it also was dead. . . . It was strange to wander along the deserted streets, so full of historic memories of the Crimean War with that Mikhailovsky Fort – still, more or less undamaged, across the bay – where young Tolstoy had taken part in the siege of 1854-5, and so full of the more agonizing memories of 1942. The famous Naval Museum had . . . survived, but all its exhibits had been taken away to Germany, 'with the Wehrmacht's permission', as a notice inside said." It was a long trail, and it led Werth all the way to Berlin where, "for once, Germany was no longer marching; she had come to the end of

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the road." The Russians put out a newspaper in German with photographs of the ruins, and as a caption something Hitler had said in 1935: "In ten years time, Berlin will be unrecognizable."

But more impressive than any of this are the descriptions of the changing moods of Moscow itself. The panic of October 16 lasted but a few days. It was followed by the strange mixture of hope and pain of that first war winter, typified by a poem of Konstantin Simonov "which millions of women recited to themselves like a prayer." It starts:

Wait for me, and I will return, only
wait very hard
Wait when you are filled with sorrow as you watch the yellow rain

And the last lines are,

Only you and I will know how I
survived:
It's because you waited, as no one
else did.

How far from those days to the Kremlin reception of November 7, 1943 (the Germans thrown back across the Dnieper), with its procession of blindly drunk ambassadors "who were simply carried out, feet first. . . . The whole party sparkled with jewels, furs, gold braid, and celebrities. . . . It had something of that wild and irresponsible extravagance which one usually associated with pre-Revolution Moscow. There was never to be another party quite like it." And a year later, the same Simonov who had written *Wait for Me*, produced a play called *So It Will Be* in which an officer decides that his wife and child, missing for years in German-occupied territory, must be considered lost, and that he might start life again with a professor's sweet young daughter. Euphoria, surely a new phenomenon in Russia, took hold of many, and it lasted until the first atom bomb was dropped.

There had been many ups and downs in Russia's relationship with the West, from the low first of the Munich, then of the Russo-German, non-aggression pacts, through the suspicions of the early war years (Hess's flight to England, for instance, which was treated as a bit of a joke there, caused great anxiety in Moscow), the waiting for the Second Front, to the peak chumminess of 1944. The approach of peace, the Polish question, the death of Roosevelt, all lessened the warmth; but the bomb ended it – by ending Russia's short-lived sense of security, created by her string of victories. Werth thinks that the main reason for its hasty use was precisely that leery Washington wanted to demonstrate to Russia its new power – before Russia's entry into the war with Japan, scheduled for three months after VE-day, that is August 9, 1945, which might have given Japan the final push toward surrender. But the bomb didn't make Stalin more pliable, it made him a paranoiac. A huge chunk of Russia's capital was diverted from reconstruction to a crash program for a bomb of her own. The American seven billion dollar reconstruction loan never came off. On the very day of Hiroshima, people in Moscow told Werth gloomily, "Our victory over Germany is now as good as wasted."

And in the grey years that followed, for Russia and for the West, the Great Patriotic War became a proud and well-nigh nostalgic memory. "Already it almost seems a historical epic of a bygone age – which can never be repeated. To the Russian people, the thought of another war is doubly horrifying: for it would be a war without its Sebastopol, Leningrad, or Stalingrad; a war in which – everywhere – there would be only victims and no heroes."

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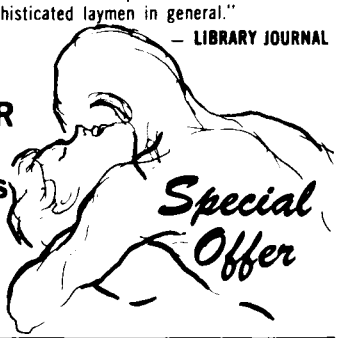

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Hopes for World Order

by Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

So far as public comment in the United States is concerned, the United Nations has suffered an unhappy fate. Our specialists in *Realpolitik* hardly ever mention it except to complain that Washington is deferring unduly to someone's clamor in the General Assembly; and its most vocal supporters often sound as if they expected the magic of supranational organization to cast out the devil of power politics. Yet, in the meantime, the United States Government through four Presidential administrations has come to see the United Nations as indispensable to the defense and promotion of our national interest. And today in Washington and New York a number of quite realistic public servants are blazing trails in the new and uncharted wilderness of international organizations.

In Pursuit of World Order
US Foreign Policy and International Organizations
by Richard N. Gardner
(Praeger; $4.95)

Adlai Stevenson is the best known, of course; but he has had behind him not only the expert staff of the United States Mission to the United Nations but also the Bureau of International Organization Affairs in the State Department with Assistant Secretary Harlan Cleveland as its able and resourceful chief. Richard N. Gardner, who is one of Cleveland's Deputy Assistant Secretaries, now provides an admirable guide to the intentions and hopes of the United States in the United Nations. *In Pursuit of World Order* offers a lucid, readable and authoritative account of the present status of international organization, its problems and its possibilities.

The first section of the book deals with the "pursuit of peace with justice." Mr. Gardner begins with a discussion of the UN as it has grown from the UN of 1945, a Western-oriented institution of fifty-one nations, to the UN of 1964, a world parliament, more than double its original size, with the new countries of Africa and Asia holding nearly half the seats. He provides concise refutations of the stock arguments against United States membership, analyzes the anomalies of Soviet participation and submits the Congo and the Cuban missile crisis as tests of the UN as a peace-keeping agency.

This is, in the main, a record of conflict; but the second half, where Mr. Gardner considers the role of the UN "in pursuit of the general welfare," is in the main a record of cooperation. Here he surveys UN effort in the social and economic fields, with particular attention to the ordeal of the underdeveloped countries. He writes about international trade and monetary questions with particular authority; and his summary of the UN attack on the population problem is especially valuable. A concluding chapter on "Human Rights: The Ultimate Foundation" renews the theme of conflict.

The coexistence of conflict and cooperation is the reality of the matter. Simplistic thinkers on both sides feel that, if you have one, you cannot have the other; "the notion persists," as Harlan Cleveland writes in a foreword, "that agreement or disagreement among nations at any given time is total – that you cannot hold opposing views on subject A and simultaneously cooperate on subject B." But such a view is an expression of immaturity in international quite as much as in personal relations. National states, no matter how divided by interest or ideology, may yet have a common stake in a number of things, from preventing thermonuclear war to allocating radio frequencies and fighting the anopheles mosquito. It is this painfully evolving sense of limited common interests, and not a millennial transformation in the nature of states or of men, on which the hope of the United Nations rests.

For all this – or perhaps because of this – the United Nations remains a hard subject to write about. It is too diffuse, too bureaucratic, too lacking in familiar points of drama and loyalty. There are other colors in the spectrum between black and white, but the UN too often comes out gray. Mr. Gardner largely overcomes this because of the command and clarity of his exposition. But, as an official, he must write in muted tones, and he does not escape grayness entirely. I wish he had been able to convey more of the pace and pressure of policy-making in the UN, when a dozen unrelated crises, some real, some polemical, may explode at once, all requiring simultaneously clearance across the government and action (or at least speeches) in New York. The post of United States Ambassador to the United Nations is one of the most arduous and exhausting in government; and, because Adlai Stevenson has the grace of making everything look easy, I doubt whether people fully realize how superbly that post has been filled in the last four years. One occasionally feels too that Mr. Gardner is under wraps when he talks about policy matters. I shall look forward to the book he writes about the United States and the United Nations after he leaves the government. In the meantime, *In Pursuit of World Order* is the best possible introduction to the multilateral processes by which the world is edging toward a larger measure of peace and decency.

It is a scandal that this book should have been published without an index.

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Notes on Contributors

Eleanor Dienstag, *until recently an editor of* Monocle, *is now a free-lance writer.* Hans Koningsberger's *novel* I Know What I'm Doing *was recently published by Simon and Schuster.* Arthur Schlesinger Jr. *was formerly Special Assistant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.*

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FILMS

Non-Truth and Fiction

According to Vittorio De Sica, there are, in directing, two De Sicas: the one who made *Shoeshine, Umberto D., Bicycle Thief;* the one who made such films as *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* and his latest, *Marriage Italian Style*. The former are his own work whose purpose, in his phrase, is "to follow the solitude of humanity"; the latter are entertainments, based on stereotypes about Italy and Italians. I would add that there is a third De Sica: the one who made, for example, *Two Women*, which is the former kind slightly melted by the latter.

Marriage Italian Style
(Embassy)
Kiss Me, Stupid
(Lopert)

I talked with De Sica last summer in Rome just after he had finished *Marriage Italian Style* and, later, attended one of the music-recording sessions with him. (As the orchestra throbbed a neo-Mascagni passage, he turned to me, tapped his bosom with two fingers, and said augustly, "Vairy rich. Vairy Neapolitan.") He was happy at least to have made a film, even in altered form, from a play by the beloved Neapolitan dramatist-actor Eduardo De Filippo but was unhappy about the title put on it to capitalize on the success of the *Divorce* film. "A terrible title. Distributors always have bad taste."

The story begins when a middle-aged man's middle-aged mistress is suddenly stricken, seemingly dying. He is engaged to a young girl, but at the priest's request he marries the mistress on her presumed deathbed. Flashbacks tell us how they met during the war in a brothel, how she fell in love with him, how he got her an apartment, how at last she moved into his house and took over the management of his businesses. We return to the present, and the dying woman, of course, does not die. (For one thing, stars don't disappear that soon.) She has tricked him into marriage to protect herself. He takes countermeasures, including annulment. She presents him with three surprises, of varying ages. Quarrels, separation, reconciliation.

It is all old-fashioned theatrical nonsense; it is all excellent fun. First, because Marcello Mastroianni is the master and Sophia Loren the mistress. Second, because De Sica keeps it appropriately fast-moving or appropriately tender. Third, because he casts his films, even in the smallest bits, to the film's greatest advantage (like the gnomish dressmaker who follows Miss Loren excitedly in only one scene). Fourth, because, despite the rather grainy Eastmancolor, his evocations of Naples are "vairy rich." And last, because this trumpery story is played against a backdrop of fact. Example: during a scene in which Mastroianni calls for the tart shortly after the war there is an orator in the background exhorting a group of women and children to rally to the royalist cause.

De Sica complains that he can no longer get money to make his "own" pictures, that he is permitted to make only commercial films, but claims that they are "commercial films by an artist." Doubtless he would prefer his own films, but doubtless, in proof, he also enjoys making these pictures. Through the joints of their large artifices seep numerous small truths, just as in the midst of wildly improbable opera, individual arias can have credibility and beauty. *The Umbrellas of Cherbourg* is a recent example of a film that falsifies even its stereotypes. De Sica's film, too, deals in stereotypes but, by regard for them and by art in their use, makes them entertaining. The picture is only false in shape, not in what the shape contains.

Part of its truth is achieved by national self-satire, a mode in which Italian films are beginning to lead the world. Luigi Comencini (*Everybody Go Home*), Mario Monicelli (*The Big*

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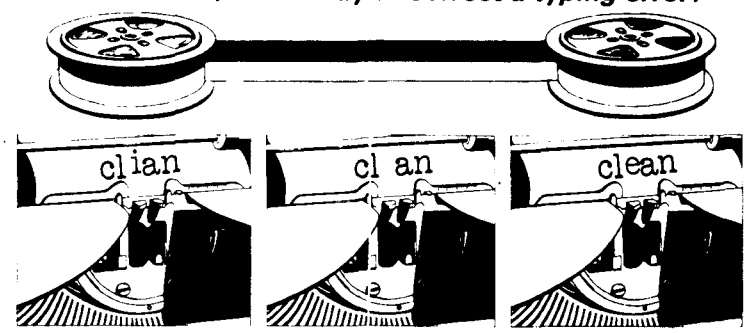

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Deal), Dino Risi (*Love and Larceny*) have all done good work in this vein, none better than De Sica. When the mistress is brought home sick, a servant is called to go for a doctor, and the servant is so distressed that he himself almost has hysterics first. This and many other examples are so satirically true that they give a kind of substance to the plotty proceedings. De Sica and Company seem to be nudging us all along, saying, "We are Italians playing it up *Italianissimo*, but with bits of verity at the compass points so that we all don't get lost."

About Mastroianni there is little more to say than that there is no finer actor of his generation on the screen. Miss Loren is, as always, at her best under De Sica's direction. I asked him why this was so. He said, articulating his English in a careful, rather majestic way, "She has confidence in me. She is a *filodrammatica* [an amateur actress]; with beauty, with talent, but she needs to be handled. She does not read the script first. I read it beforehand to her. That way I, too, get the 'sense' – not of the meaning, of the ballet. Acting is music for me."

None of this is betrayal of Miss Loren for she has often publicly acknowledged her debts to De Sica. This latest result of their collaboration is again effective, if slight. One can certainly wish that she and Mastroianni and De Sica would tackle material of more substance; but let us be grateful for large favors.

Billy Wilder, European in origin, also converts European material to commercial film use. A lengthy, unimportant study could be written about the sources of *Some Like It Hot* (a German story), *One, Two, Three* (a Molnar play), *Irma La Douce* (a Parisian musical routed through London), and his latest, *Kiss Me, Stupid* (an Italian play); and how, in varying degree, he reshapes them for Hollywood – from the brilliance of *Some Like It Hot* to the tired, vacuous sexiness of his latest picture. Wilder has been berated for cynicism and for insufficient cynicism, for heartless satire and for soft-centered satire. *Kiss Me, Stupid* lies outside the range of interest of critical guns, as inconsiderable and dull as any other failed sex joke.

A music teacher in a small Nevada town (called Climax, for a start) has song-writing ambitions. Through coincidences, a big pop singer has to stay overnight in his house and demands female companionship. The teacher, madly jealous of his wife, sends her away and gets a local trollop to impersonate his wife so that the star can seduce her and, in a blissful state, buy some of her "husband's" songs. The idea has farce possibilities; none of them is realized because the pace drags, the dialogue is only suggestive, not funny, the acting is abominable. From Dean Martin, the singer, and Kim Novak, the trollop, one expects little and gets less. Cliff Osmond, the teacher's collaborator, has a large part and is ridiculously incompetent. Ray Walston, the teacher, is here so crude that, if he had given this performance early in his career, he never would have had one.

I cannot remember that Wilder has ever permitted such bad acting in his films, particularly by men, or has shown such a soggy sense of tempo and humor. Age notoriously induces sentimentality, and perhaps this film is the form that sentimentality takes with the formerly wickedly witty. If so, we can regret the change. In artistic heaven there is more joy over a sinner who does not repent; or relent.

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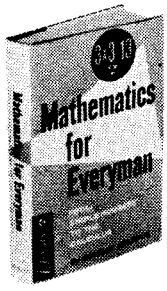

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ART

American Light: Edward Hopper

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The best of the American Impressionists – Twachtman or Weir – adapted themselves to the French manner with no great difficulty and did produce good work with plenty of obvious differences from the French inspiration, but part of their charm lies precisely in the dream feeling evoked by their landscapes. An emerald pool in the American forest or the splatter of autumn leaves along the Hudson is enchanting but it is a dream enchantment and the dream is of French Impressionism. The American painter above all others to open his eyes to the quality of the light in his own country has been Edward Hopper. Hopper could even be called an Impressionist in the sense that light and the artist's concern about light play an enormous part in his paintings; but the quality – something like the stark rehearsal light on a stage – is so different from that which made Impressionism that the result in art is entirely different.

Hopper, now 82, has for decades followed a seasonal shuttle that has become common among American artists: summers on Cape Cod, where he has a house at Truro, and winters in New York, where he has a walk-up on Washington Square. But with Hopper the shuttle has much more meaning than the usual one of getting away from town during the awful summer and being back for the lively winter. There have been excursions to the far West and very early there were travels in Europe, but anyone's thought of Hopper's work would divide it into two broad categories by locale, the city and the beach. In both, the harsh American sunlight pours into the scene, the unifying element as scene and subject change. It sometimes seems to the observer that Hopper spends his summers studying the American light in the almost laboratory isolation of that hook of the land out in the ocean in order to know better what he's dealing with when he paints, later, that same sun flatly lighting the dull and endless brick of Brooklyn façades, or shafting steeply into some dreary city eating-place or working-place.

Often his people look to the sun in a dryly pathetic way: peering out or up for warmth and hope even as the raking light exposes their shrivelled skins and shrunken frames as essentially one with the fading brick or brownstone or the white clapboard or weathered shingle of seashore architecture. There are rarely more than a couple of people when there are any; half a dozen is a crowd in a Hopper picture. Each is alone; he was on to the lonely American crowd long before it struck Riesman and Denney. That aspect of the American sun-worship is summed up in a striking picture of not more than four or five people reclined in folding chairs, faces up to sun, each isolated from the person inches next to him.

Again, in a movie interior, Hopper's view of our mass entertainment catches just a corner of the silver screen, just the blurred silhouettes of a few of the audience, all as background to a lonely, thoughtful usherette, lost somewhere in the urban reverie, unaware of the masses or their entertainment.

"Dawn in Pennsylvania," one of the great pictures, does it all with the end of a railroad car and a baggage truck on a platform against a couple of warehouse or office buildings. Similarly, "Early Sunday Morning," in the Whitney's collection, puts all the city desert into a barber shop and a couple of other store-fronts, a second floor of apartments, a band of sky, a band of sidewalk and street with long, early shadows. The days have only just begun, but even when the sun is straight overhead, the street will still be a street in the desert and the walkers, in whatever number, will walk alone.

The message is much the same in a watercolor of about the same time – the early thirties – of cottages at Wellfleet, their broad blank faces turned to the light, their bulks isolated one from another by sky and dune.

The strange relationship among the isolation of the beach, the isolation of the city and the unsubtle American light is so deeply felt in Hopper that he risks being quite overt about it and does so without ever slipping into the anecdotal. There is a common figure besides the light to be found in the beach scenes and the city scenes; this is the naked woman in an interior looking out toward the harshly luminous world outside. With the exception of the quite rare theater scenes, Hopper seems incapable of painting a true interior, or even of seeing one. His naked women – they aren't nudes in any recognized sense – look out from a particularly barren domestic interior toward a cosmic reality, that of sunlight.

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They stand, fully fleshed and flat-footed, on a patch of worn carpet lighted by morning sun and stare out the window. They hold a towel or a cigarette and take the sun upon their bodies. The harshness of the sunlight is matched in the harshness of composition and paint quality itself. Hopper paints a world that is both bright and bleak and it is our own.

The large retrospective, originated by the Whitney Museum, is one of the most satisfactory reviews of an American painter in years. Lloyd Goodrich's catalogue essay is a model of reasoned sensitivity. FRANK GETLEIN

A Communication

Snooping and Testing

Sirs:

I am in substantial agreement with James Ridgeway's article "The Snoops" (December 19) and I strongly support his opposition to the illegitimate use of personal and private information by governmental units. However, the author has fallen heir to a gross misconception about psychological test items such as those used as part of the selection battery for candidates for Youth Opportunity Program training. It is a misconception shared by much of the public. . . .

There is a subtle point about psychological tests which is not immediately apparent, namely, that there is a difference between asking a question in order to obtain information relevant to the content of the question, and asking a question for purposes of psychological measurement. For example, the questions mentioned by Mr. Ridgeway with reference to the Youth Opportunity Program examination were not used to discover anything about the subject's religious beliefs or sexual experiences. These questions were parts of scales which were designed to measure psychological traits of Flexibility, Responsibility, Psychological-mindedness, Socialization, and Tolerance, all of which were considered to be desirable characteristics for people being trained to work with disadvantaged youth. None of the scales used were measuring sexual behavior or religious beliefs as such. Our interest in such test items is based solely on the fact that empirical studies and statistical treatment of the data demonstrates that answers to these items are characteristic of certain groups with known psychological characteristics, and rare in others. A person's answers to such questions are compared with the answers given by these criterion groups, and this comparison provides the examiner with information about the extent to which the person shares the characteristics of the comparison group.

To understand this fully, one needs to know how good psychological tests are constructed. A typical procedure is to create a large pool of possible test questions and then to try out these items by giving them to groups of people with known characteristics in order to pick out those items which work. If one is interested in measuring such a trait as "flexibility" one gives the items to a group of people characterized by flexibility and another group characterized by inflexibility. The researcher then identifies only those items which these two groups answer in different ways. For example, a possible item that might be tried out is "I prefer ham to chicken." If in the research it is found that the same number of highly flexible and inflexible people answer that item in the same way, then the item would be considered ineffective in differentiating these two groups and would be dropped out. But some other items are such that they are answered in one way by significantly more of the flexible people than by inflexibles. Such items would then be selected from the initial pool of tryout items to be used in a scale of flexibility, *quite without regard to what the items actually say*. In effect, the item is used as an indicator of something outside of or beyond the item itself.

The next step is to pull all the items together which have been found to be answered differently by the comparison groups (*i.e.* by flexible and inflexible people, in this hypothetical example). The collection of items is called a scale. This scale may then be given to a random collection of people, so that one can find out how much flexibility is average, by noting the average number of items that these people answer in the same way as the flexible group.) . . .

The test constructor has no way of knowing *why* flexible people answer the questions in the way they do, and why inflexibles answer them differently, or why an item with one kind of content "works" while another does not. . . . It doesn't matter why, as long as the items allow him to differentiate between people who are more or less like the flexible group. Thus most constructors and users have no interest in the content of the items which differentiate, but only in the fact that they *do* differentiate.

In connection with the use of such tests, it is important to note that the tester is interested only in the *number* of items on a scale a person answers in the same way as the flexible group, and not *which* items. . . .

In scoring the tests used in the Labor Department program, the scorers simply counted the number of items which each person had answered like the flexible group and compared this number with the average. . . . No note was made of the subject's answer to the specific question. . . . In giving such a test, one is not at all concerned with the factual bases for the subject's answers. Some psychologists theorize that the effectiveness of such test items lies in what a subject is prepared to admit or deny about himself; and typically, many considerations other than simple factualness enter into his decision to admit or deny. There is an entire body of recent research which suggests, for example, that on some tests, item content is so irrelevant that subjects will tend to answer "yes" to both an item and its exact opposite. Such items have been found to be useful in measuring characteristics associated with the generalized tendency simply to agree to printed statements versus the tendency to disagree. I know of no sophisticated

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test-users who make an assumption that a test-taker's responses directly represent factual truths about himself.

When used in this fashion, psychological tests perform a useful function. There would probably be very little objection to measuring the characteristics of flexibility, tolerance, psychological-mindedness, socialization, and responsibility in people who wish to work in a helping relationship with disadvantaged youth. . . .

The Department of Labor project to which you referred, (Project CAUSE), also used Civil Service checks on applicants for Youth Opportunity Program training. It was my policy, as Assistant Director for Selection, to use only that information in the Civil Service checks which was considered relevant to the job for which the candidates were being trained. A history of recent arrests for crimes such as theft, larceny, etc. was considered pertinent to an estimate of the candidate's ability to work effectively with young people in delinquent groups. We used such information, including histories of hospitalizations for psychiatric illness, to make judgments about the candidate's suitability as a Counselor Aide or Youth Advisor, work which requires a good deal of personal integrity, and maturity of judgment. In every case where a question arose, we used the extensive evaluations by the faculty members serving as assessment officers at the universities in which the candidates were being trained for a determination of the trainee's current status, and for an estimate of the extent to which his work might be affected by his attitudes and traits. We were very alert to the danger of damning a man solely on the basis of his past difficulties, and we tried to make our judgment exclusively on the basis of his current performance, as observed by his supervisors and teachers in the course of his training at the university and in the on-the-job training aspects of the program.

I may have been naïve in my belief that the records provided by the Civil Service could be used for only such reasonable purposes. In fact, I found these records to be largely useless. In many cases, records of arrests were so old as to provide no information on the candidate's recent and current functioning. In others, the details were so sketchy that one could have little confidence in the significance of the information. In many cases, the records contained nothing more than outrageous allegations, hearsay, and implied guilt by association; they could be given no consideration at all. I did not have any access to classified information concerning the candidate's loyalty, nor did I have any interest in such information. I considered it my responsibility to make as reasonable judgments as could be made, based heavily on the observations and studies of the assessment officers and instructors and supervisors at the universities, concerning the candidate's ability to do the job. The only occasions on which I considered political beliefs to be of importance were those in which these political beliefs might illegitimately invade counseling relationships. If those who were concerned with the actual placement and hiring of the CAUSE trainees used information in the Civil Service checks in such a way as to negate these selection and assessment policies, then such use is to be strongly condemned. Frankly, I found the Civil Service checks to be of so little use, and to be so dangerous if used without the greatest of circumspection and care, that I recommended to the Department of Labor that they not be used in future programs such as the one with which I was associated. I do not think that the erroneous decisions that might be made on one or two applicants, errors which would be on the side of charity, can possibly justify the greater dangers to civil liberties involved in the collection and use of private information which has little relevance to positions so far removed from any question touching national security.

I would like to mention one particular hypocrisy touching on the use of Civil Service checks. A person applying for an appointment under a federal program might quite understandably deny ancient records of arrests or psychiatric treatments, especially if he considers these to be a part of a life from which he has successfully extricated himself. When the Civil Service check reveals the information which he failed to report, an official might justify a refusal to employ the person on the grounds of perjured application, in order to get around all of the evidence which indicates that the candidate's past should really be considered a

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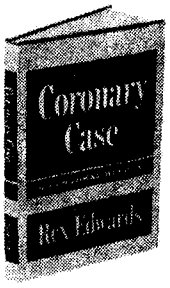

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closed book, and as having no relevance to his current ability to perform on the job. The "lie" on the application then becomes an excuse for further punishing the candidate because of his past, despite the evidence from psychological research which indicates that "honesty" is neither a general nor a reliable trait. People who lie in one situation are not necessarily likely to be dishonest in another situation. Heaven help us if every man in government today who has ever lied should be discharged. . . .

Project CAUSE, recognizing the shortage of people who can and will work with the 1.2 million youth in late adolescence who are already out of school and out of work and who form a large nucleus of the disadvantaged poor in this country, recruited and trained people to fill this gap. In only ten days of recruiting, over 20,000 people applied for training which they saw as the first great step toward doing something for the neglected groups in America. About 2,000 were selected for eight to ten weeks of intensive fifty-hour per week training in the culture of poverty, counseling techniques, the employment market, psychology of the disadvantaged, the sociology of work, and other subjects pertinent to an understanding of youth disadvantaged by poverty, prejudice, inadequate schooling, and a hostile environment. The trainees were thrilling to be near. Many were recent college graduates with the same kind of dedication characteristic of the Peace Corps volunteers. Others were housewives and early retirees who saw CAUSE as a chance to do something of overriding social usefulness. Many left promising job possibilities, even careers, to take a chance in the training program (which offered little more than a *chance* of being employed in a Youth Opportunity Center, and $15.00 per week stipend).

The trainees understood clearly that they were engaged as much in a war for civil rights as they were in a war against poverty. I did not like the use of Civil Service checks on such people, but frankly, I felt that the project was too important; it had great potential, and could ill-afford a fight against this prevailing pattern in government programs. I did not want the disadvantaged youth to have to pay for the failure of a program which was already having its hands full with the opposition of professional "territorial" interests, of states' righters who objected to federal leadership, of segregationists who opposed the implied emphasis of the program on the victims of prejudice and who objected to sending white and Negro trainees to integrated Southern universities, and to middle-class tightwads who objected to any attempt to use federal funds to help "those" people. The poor pay too often for our failures as it is. In short, liberals in the federal government are still "running scared" a dozen years after McCarthy.

Jesse E. Gordon
Associate Professor of
Psychology and Social Work
University of Michigan

Our correspondent, former assistant director for selection in the Labor Department's Youth Opportunity Program, was "solely responsible" for the psychological tests used in screening applicants there. The New Republic *will soon publish a second article by James Ridgeway on the government's interesting personnel procedures.*

—THE EDITORS

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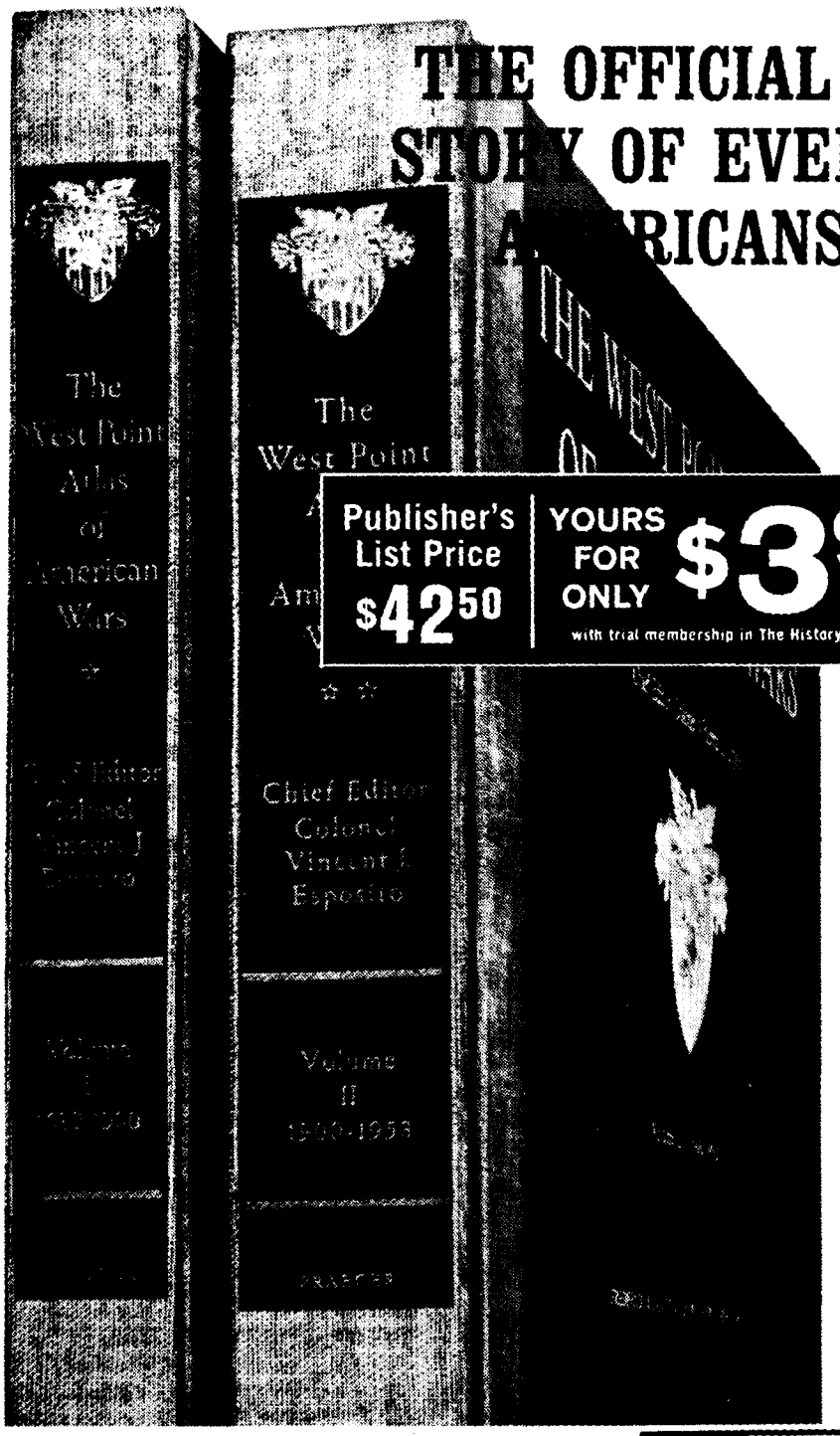

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